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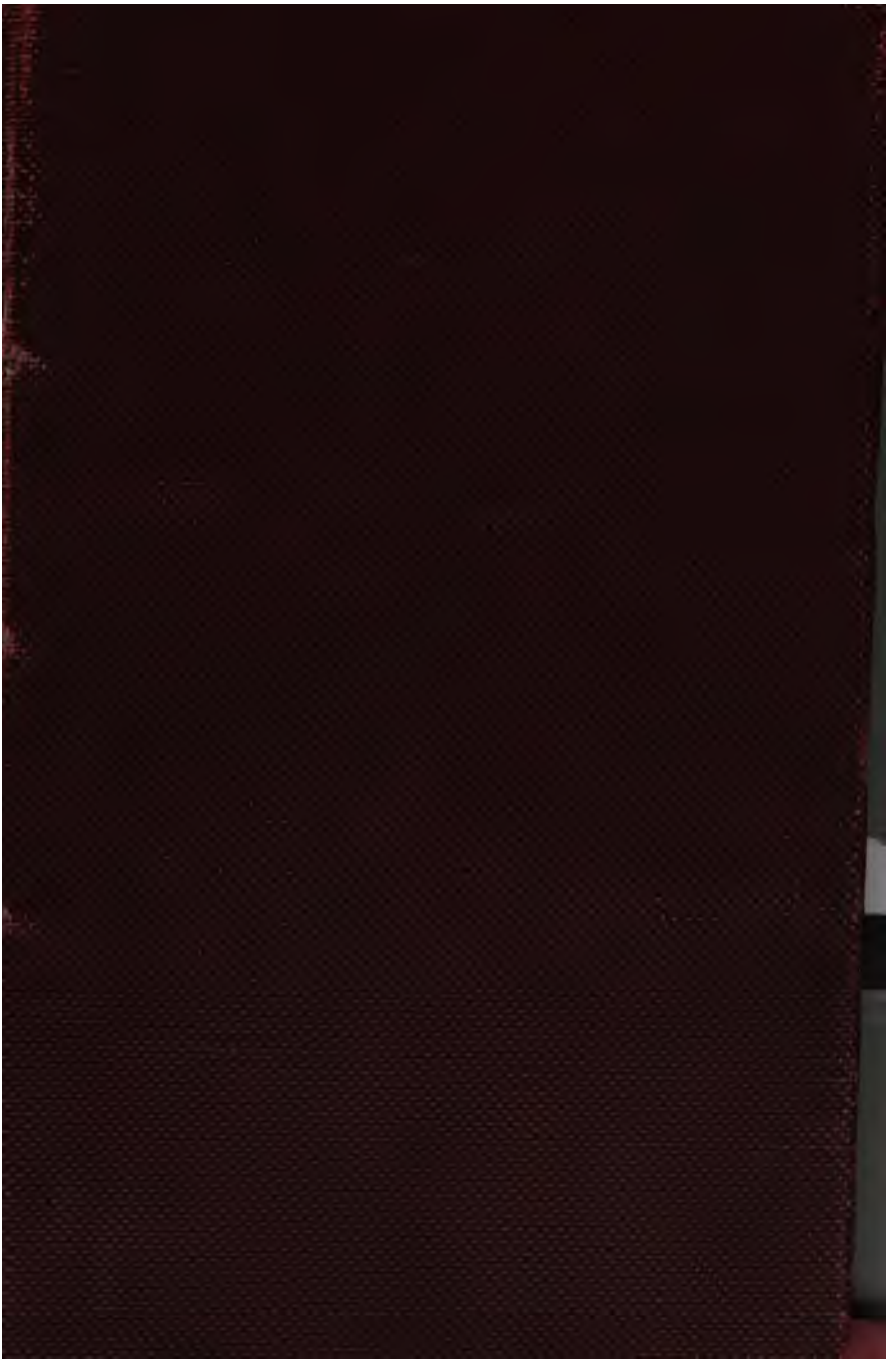

BOHN'S SHILLING SERIES.

GUIZOT'S MONK.

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GEORGE MONK,

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE

OB. 1671.

George MONK:

OR

THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC

AND

THE RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY

IN ENGLAND, IN 1660.

BY

François (Pierre Guillaume)
M. GUIZOT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY

ANDREW R. SCOBLE.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
1851.

~~3496, 28~~

1239-21

1861, April 8. (Entered.)

~~April 8th~~

Rec^d. 1860 March 19.

(No charge on the invoice).

Bv 1933.7.15

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SON,

ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

MANY of the readers of M. Guizot's admirable History of the English Revolution have, no doubt, regretted that no account is given therein of the Restoration of the Monarchy under Charles II. This deficiency is amply supplied in the present work. In it, M. Guizot has pourtrayed, with a master's hand, the character of the man by whom the reactionary tendencies of the English people were guided to a successful issue; and has narrated, with brevity and clearness, the course of events which ultimated in the recall of the Stuart dynasty. Notwithstanding the interest and importance of the subject, no trustworthy life of Monk had previously been published; and we cannot therefore be surprised, when the high reputation of its author is considered, that the present biography should at once have become an authority, and assumed a permanent position in the historical library.

In preparing the present edition for the press, no pains have been spared to render it as accurate and complete as possible. The quotations have, in almost every case, been verified by reference to the originals. The valuable collection of diplomatic correspondence, inserted by M. Guizot in the

Appendix to his work, is now presented for the first time to the British public, and will be found to contribute largely to our previous knowledge of the subject. A portrait, and an analytical table of contents, have also been added, and will, it is hoped, somewhat enhance the value of this edition.

A. R. S.

LONDON, *February*, 1851.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE present work was not written with a view to publication. It was intended to be nothing more than an historical study, prepared for my own use, in order that I might clearly understand the causes of the Restoration of the Monarchy in England, in 1660, and accurately estimate the character of the man who brought about that great event. In 1837, some friends who had read my sketch, requested me to allow its insertion in the *Revue Française;* and I consented. It has never before been published either separately or completely.

In 1837, it had a purely historical interest; at the present day, it evidently possesses a value of an altogether different nature. France is indeed in a strange position! Anxious to avoid another revolution, all she desires is stability; and four or five questions, which all imply a revolution, afford an increasing theme of reflection and conversation to all her citizens:—

Can the Republic be consolidated?

Can the Monarchy be restored?

Which Monarchy shall we have? The Empire or the House of Bourbon?

Which branch of the House of Bourbon shall we choose? the elder or the younger? or both together, and in concert?

If France desires nothing but stability, why are all these questions continually under discussion? Let her put an end to all further debate, and remain *in statu quo*. If she does not believe in the stability of her present position, why does she not make choice of some solution to the questions at issue? Is it that these questions can be neither suppressed nor resolved? Such a state of affairs would be the worst imagin-

able; for, in that case, we should be condemned to passive anxiety—having no confidence in the present, and no hope for the future. I cannot, and will not, believe that this is the state of my country.

The France of 1850 and the England of 1660 bear but very slight resemblance to each other, and I have no intention, although this has been sometimes laid to my charge, of proposing the one as a model for the other's imitation. France has her own peculiar genius and destiny; let her preserve and trust to them. But there is a something which rises above all diversities of destiny and of national genius,—a something which is equally necessary everywhere and at all times: I refer to the *esprit politique*, or that good sense which in politics, as in everything else, and for nations as well as for individuals, can alone ensure definite and lasting success.

The good sense of two parties united to restore the English Monarchy in 1660. These were, the good sense of a man and the good sense of the country, or, to speak more exactly, of the Monarchical party in the country. In England, two hundred years ago, it was said, as it is now said in France, that the Monarchy had been irrevocably abolished, and that the Republic alone was possible. Monk perceived that this was a false notion. He believed in the Monarchy during the existence of the republic, when all around him, and himself among the number, were talking, either sincerely or hypocritically, of nothing but the Republic. And when, after the death of Cromwell, and the fall of his son Richard, the nation was really called on to choose between the two forms of government, Monk decided in favour of the Monarchy.

This merit has been denied him; and Monk, in pursuing the object he had in view, made so great use and abuse of falsehood, that men of prejudiced or superficial minds have doubted whether his resolution was early adopted and constantly maintained. But when we closely and thoroughly study documents and events, doubt is no longer possible. From the very first day, Monk was decided; and whatever he did

or said, he was decided on every day, even to the last. He had a fixed resolution and plan of action, whilst every one else was doubting and hesitating. This was his first act of political good sense.

But although Monk was determined, he was also patient. He could wait until due time for success. A soldier, and acting by means of his army, he was firmly and constantly resolved not to recommence violent measures and a civil war. He understood that, to be securely established, the Monarchy must be restored pacifically and naturally, as a national necessity and the last refuge of the country. Disregarding the impatience and mistrust of others, he restrained, dissimulated, delayed, and waited, until the event took place, as it were, of itself. And when the event had taken place, Monk desired that, in the letters patent which were destined to commemorate his good fortune and glory, the words, *Victor sine sanguine* (a bloodless conqueror) should be inserted, to show that his prudence had been the result of reflection and of choice.

The monarchical party, also, acted sensibly. It occupied a less difficult position then, than it does in France at the present day. It was not wavering between two or three monarchies; all were in favour of one and the same aspirant to the throne. The party was nevertheless composed of very different elements. Some had caused the revolution, while others had opposed it. They had fought boldly with each other, either for or against the King whose son they now proposed to restore. Opposite ideas, passions, and interests separated them; but they postponed their dissensions. Until their success was complete, they made their opposite ideas, passions, and interests give way before the idea, the passion, and the interest which they had in common. They subordinated that which they would have preferred to that which they desired. This is the touchstone of the political intelligence of parties.

The English Royalists did even more than this. They confided the execution of their design to a man whom they distrusted, and whom they had good reason to distrust. Monk

had served the King, the Revolution, the Republic, Cromwell, and the Parliament. He was utterly incomprehensible and obscure. He frequently said one thing and did another; and he lied with a cool audacity which startled his most intimate confidants. As far as he was concerned, the Monarchical party was full of doubt and disquietude, passing alternately from hope to fear, and from glimpses of light to thick darkness. But neither their doubts, fears, and desires, nor the obscurities of Monk, could mislead the Royalists. Monk was the man whom the crisis at once offered to them and forced upon them. Altogether, they had more reasons to hope from him than to distrust him; and, moreover, they were compelled to accept him. The Royalists felt this and acted accordingly. They did not repose blind confidence in Monk, but they discreetly supported his views, drawing him on without compromising him, obedient to his advice, and watching quietly, but vigilantly, behind him, as behind a leader of their choice. For a leader there must be. to execute plans of this kind; and no leader can be of real service who is not allowed to choose his own method of proceeding, and vigorously sustained in all he undertakes. Success rewarded the good conduct of the Monarchical party and their leader.

Peoples, parties, or individuals, indeed, men in general, at the great turning-points of their destiny, may be deceived in two different, but equally fatal ways. Sometimes, undecided and discouraged, they give up all hope, remain as inactive as unconcerned spectators, and resign their fate to that unknown Power which, according to their faith or their impiety, they call Providence, fatality, or chance. Sometimes, blindly confident and heedless, they act according to the caprices of their imagination or desires, believing that everything is possible to them, and that nothing will prevent them from succeeding in the way they wish and hope. God does not tolerate or leave unpunished either of these errors. He wills that men should take their share in the management of their own business, and should accept its toil as well as its

chances. And, at the same time, he does not suffer men to imagine that they can dispose of events at their will, and that all circumstances will bend to their interests or caprices. With regard to those who will do nothing for themselves, but wait until God shall deliver them from their troubles, God also waits and lets them suffer. To those, whose presumption leads them to think they can obtain all that they desire, God sends obstacles and hindrances which compel them to acknowledge that there are around them forces, rights, and interests, other than their own, and with which they must make terms. Good policy consists in recognising beforehand these natural necessities, which, if disregarded, would presently become Divine lessons, and in ordering our conduct with due regard to their existence.

I do not wish to say anything about the Revolution of February. I am not the man whom it behoves to speak of that occurrence at the present time. But I cannot believe, and there is not a single Frenchman who can be satisfied to believe, that that revolution was the crowning event of the glorious history of France. It suits the daring disposition of my country to plunge, no matter at what cost or peril, into vast and unheard-of experiments. France, we may say, seems to consider herself the grand laboratory of the civilisation of the world. But if she is quick to run into danger, she is also quick to bethink herself and retrace her steps, when she perceives that she has taken the wrong road, and is about to fall. Already has she stayed her progress under the shadow of a great name; but a salutary halt is not safety. It is not enough that France is prevented from falling into the abyss: the abyss must be filled up, and France recover herself. To effect this, she needs the assistance of a Washington or a Monk. Which of the two will Providence grant us?

I am anxious to throw upon the event which forms the subject of this sketch, all the light that can be collected, so as to render it more comprehensible to us. With this view, I publish, in continuation of my narrative, seventy-one despatches or fragments of despatches, addressed, in 1659 and 1660, to

Cardinal Mazarin, and M. de Brienne, by M. de Bourdeaux, at that time French ambassador at London. These documents have been taken from the archives of the department of Foreign Affairs at Paris. It is curious to notice how the representative of Louis XIV. at Cromwell's court daily collected information, and strove to influence the progress of Monk towards the restoration of the Stuart dynasty.

I also publish a letter addressed to Monk by Richard Cromwell, fifteen days before the restoration of Charles II., in order that, as he says, "when the Parliament shall be met, you would make use of your interest on my behalf, that I be not left liable to debts which, I am confident, neither God nor conscience can ever reckon mine . . . having this persuasion of you that, as I cannot but think myself unworthy of great things, so you will not think me worthy of utter ruin." This is, indeed, a singular mixture of humble modesty and recollections of former greatness.

In 1838, shortly after the publication of my first essay on Monk in the *Revue Française*, the Hon. J. Stuart Wortley, then a member of the House of Commons, but who now sits as Lord Wharncliffe in the House of Lords, translated and published it in London. To his translation he added an introduction and notes replete with historic interest and value. In revising and recasting my essay at the present time, I have made use of Lord Wharncliffe's work, both to correct some inaccuracies which had crept into my own sketch, and to borrow some notes which either explain or complete the statements I have made.

GUIZOT.

VAL RICHER, *October*, 1850.

MONK:

AN HISTORICAL STUDY.

1608—1670.

Among the men who have played a part upon the great stage of history, the fate of Monk has been remarkable. At once celebrated and obscure, he has connected his name with the restoration of the Stuarts, but has left us almost no other memorial of himself. On one day, we behold him distinguished above all others, and disposing of a throne and a people; on the days which precede and follow it, we can scarcely catch a glimpse of him in the crowd with which he mingles. He is one of those men whose lives contain only a single day upon which their character and faculties, their virtues or vices, can display themselves in their full energy and imperiousness; yet these are men whom it is important to study closely, for it is only when we know them thoroughly that we can rightly understand the rapid drama in which they performed the leading part, and the event which they alone were able to accomplish.

George Monk, second son of Sir Thomas Monk, a gentleman of the county of Devon, was born on the 6th of December, 1608, at the manor-house of Potheridge, the hereditary residence of his family, which was one of the most ancient and respectable in the county. But the estate had long been in great disorder, and Sir Thomas, like many other gentlemen at that period, was able to maintain his rank only by ruinous expedients. George Monk was under seventeen years of age when Charles I. visited Plymouth, in 1625, the very year of his accession to the throne, to superintend the equipment of the expedition which he intended to send against Spain. The gentlemen of the county assembled round the king, anxious to appear before his eyes with a splendour befitting the occasion. Sir Thomas Monk, among others, made preparations for going; but, alarmed by the proceedings of a creditor

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who threatened to arrest him, he sent his son George to Exeter, to persuade the under-sheriff, by the offer of a small sum, to delay the execution of the writ. The under-sheriff accepted the money, promised what was asked, and, a few days afterwards, having probably received a larger bribe from the other side, had Sir Thomas publicly arrested, in the midst of the gentlemen who had assembled to meet the king. Indignant at this treachery, young Monk hastened to Exeter, and, had he not been rescued by some neighbours, the man of law, whom he stoutly belaboured, would have had great difficulty in escaping from his hands. It now became necessary for our hero to evade the probable consequences of his adventure. The squadron destined to cruize before Cadiz, in the hope of intercepting the Spanish galleons, was just ready to set sail; Sir Richard Greenville, Monk's near relative, served with it; and George Monk, intrusted to his care, found a refuge on board his ship, and was enrolled as a volunteer; thus cast by chance, and when he had only just emerged from childhood, into a career to which he was destined both by his parents and his inclination.

Fortune proved unfavourable to him in the choice of his first campaign and his first patron. Although Sir Richard Greenville had not yet found an opportunity for displaying that harsh and imperious rapacity which he subsequently manifested during the civil war, he was ill adapted to exercise a salutary influence over his cousin; and the example of the dashing young courtiers, who had embarked on board the fleet to seek, in a hazardous expedition, some diversion from their frivolous pleasures, might be dangerous to the younger son of a ruined family, whose only wealth was his economy, and whose prospects in life depended entirely upon his good conduct. But George Monk already felt that firm and decided bent, which evil example strengthens instead of destroying; and amid the disorder of his father's house, and the licence of his first companions, he contracted those tastes and habits of order which, in after-times, contributed so greatly to ensure his success in life. The enterprise against Cadiz, as ill-conducted as it was ill-conceived, failed under the most disastrous circumstances; and the next year, Monk enlisted as an ensign in the expedition of the Duke of Buckingham against the Isle de Rhé, and witnessed a second time the spectacle of shame and misfortune which the presumptuous ignorance of a

favourite may occasion. Of this event he retained a bitter recollection, which he frequently expressed when relating the occurrences of his youth. In 1629, a year after his return from the Isle de Rhé, he went to Holland, where he entered the regiment of the Earl of Oxford.

Germany and the Low Countries were, at this period, the resort of those young Englishmen whose taste, or the state of whose fortunes, led them to embrace the profession of arms, as well as of those whose activity languished in their own country, which was at peace with Europe, and had not yet begun to struggle for its own liberty. Whoever was tormented by a desire for action, went to satisfy it in distant wars, which had no other attraction for him than the game of war, with its emotions and its chances. Whoever felt that he was capable of gaining renown by his valour, went to dispose of it in the best market. Thus was formed a race of men inured to danger, watchful over their own interests, imperturbable in those habits of calculation which made their very lives a merchandise, uniting brilliant actions with vulgar feelings, indifferent to moral maxims, yet attached to certain duties, and trained by their occupation to dispense with virtues, and at the same time to keep themselves from many vices. Such were the greater number of those officers whom England then sent abroad to gain instruction and advancement in foreign wars, and who, at a later period, under the name of soldiers of fortune, played an important part in her civil wars. Although devoid of principle, they were not wanting in a certain kind of honour; and when fortune plunged them into the midst of the vicissitudes of political parties, they resigned themselves to their fate with a coolness not unmingled with repugnance, never breaking without pain the engagement which they had first contracted, and rarely determining to quit, before their time, the standard to which they had temporarily hired their courage and fidelity. Caring little for their country, they entertained warm feelings of brotherhood towards the men whose dangers they had shared; and thus, though doubtful citizens, they were excellent comrades. Indifferent to the sufferings of the people, they knew how to spare those of the soldier; and, orderly even in their violence, they did not aggravate it by the evil of confusion. Their brutality was harsh, but not ferocious; their rapacity was subject to the laws of discipline; and that disgraceful

love of pillage, which made the noble Cavaliers* the terror of England, has rarely been charged upon the soldiers of fortune. Monk was one of them, superior to all in talent, but similar to all in his tastes and necessities; his genius rose with circumstances, but his sentiments remained unchanged. He did great things without conferring great lustre upon himself, and carried into the destiny of the man who changed the face of an empire, some of those habits of mind and heart which had been formed in him by the obscure fortune of a mercenary soldier.

After several years of service, he obtained a company in the regiment of Lord Goring, which was almost exclusively composed of volunteers, for the most part rich and of high birth, and consequently but ill-disposed to submit to the rigours of discipline. Monk arrived among them, the only one who thoroughly understood his profession; invested with that authority which remarkable and marked courage gives among men of spirit: grave, exact, regular in his manners—at least for a soldier; and, according to the statement of Gumble, his chaplain, punctual in the fulfilment of the duties of his religion, which he respected as much as his military duties. He soon gained over those whom he commanded that ascendancy which belongs to the man who has in himself a natural right to command; he made himself at once loved and obeyed, and many of his subordinates, in the course of their after-lives, thanked him for the benefit which they had derived from his severity.

He had served in Holland for nearly ten years, when, towards the end of the year 1638, he was placed in winter-quarters at Dort. His soldiers committed some disorders, and the magistrates of the town wished to take cognizance of the offence. Monk maintained that a court-martial alone had any right to try the case. The matter was referred to Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, who was at that time stadtholder. In a previous case of a similar nature, he had decided in favour of military authority; but this time, either out of respect for the privileges of the town of Dort, or because his opinions had changed, judgment was pronounced in favour of the magistrates, and Monk was obliged to leave

* This name, as my readers are doubtless aware, was given to those gentlemen who, during the civil war, took arms to support Charles I. against the parliament.

Dort for much less comfortable quarters. Wounded in his honour as a soldier, he forthwith determined to leave the service of Holland; and the more willingly, because England was on the point of offering him useful employment for his talents and courage.

The religious differences which, for more than a year, had revolted Scotland against the government of Charles I., were already approaching their crisis—the prelude to so many others. On both sides, active preparations for attack or defence were being made; and to maintain a war which was detested by his people, and disdained by his courtiers, whom it would merely annoy without enriching, Charles was obliged to seek the assistance of those officers who, trained to arms in foreign lands, were indifferent to the opinions of their countrymen, and accustomed even to set little value upon their own. They flocked in great numbers to his army, which had also been recruited by a considerable number of country gentlemen, who were eager and proud to approach the court. Monk had, in his childhood, imbibed some presbyterian notions; but, as he was not greatly troubled with religious scruples, he entered without repugnance into the service of Anglican intolerance against the liberty of conscience then demanded by the Scotch presbyterians*; and, full of zeal for the cause which offered him employment, he obtained, through the good offices of the Earl of Leicester—a connexion of his family—the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in the regiment of the Earl of Newport, general of the ordnance.

The people of England were opposed to the war with Scotland; public aversion delayed its first blows; and before any blood had been shed, the treaty of Berwick, concluded on the 18th of June, 1639, declared that the campaign was over, but without putting an end to the animosities which had caused its commencement. The English and Scotch armies, which, according to the terms of the treaty, had both been disbanded within forty-eight hours, remained ready to reassemble at the first order. It was not long before a fresh outburst took place; and, on the 1st of August, 1640, Monk, at his post on the Scottish frontier, by the banks of the Tyne,

* The presbyterians were that party who wished to introduce a democratic revolution into the Anglican church; and who, in the state, sustained the parliament against the king, although they wished for the maintenance of royalty.

took part in the affair of Newburne, an engagement unique in this war, and for a moment saved the English from some of its disastrous results. The Scotch, after having crossed the Tyne almost without opposition, marched towards the quarters of the Earl of Newport, in order to gain possession of the artillery; for in the royal army, disorder had not waited for the enemy. Monk, still at the head of his regiment, had for each of his own guns only one ball and one charge of powder; he sent to major-general Astley for some ammunition, and was told, in reply, that there was no more. Upon this, placing his soldiers, armed with their muskets, along the hedges, he presented such an imposing front to the Scotch, that they did not dare to attack him, but allowed him to convey the English artillery to Newcastle, where, together with the place itself, it soon fell into their hands.

Public opinion had prevailed; England refused to defend herself, and the war with Scotland became impossible. In vain did Strafford attempt to influence the army by caresses, threats, and punishments; in vain did he strive to surround himself with men whose views were the same as his own. Monk, summoned to the council, maintained that it was necessary to fight. Strafford was unwilling to suppose that authority could meet with any obstacles; and Monk would not admit that the opinion of the soldiery could affect the fate of a battle, for he had not yet learned to doubt the power of discipline. Their advice was rejected; peace was resolved upon; and long afterwards, when Monk had become the faithful servant of the parliament, he never spoke without indignation of the craven counsels which, in 1640, had rendered useless an army, "fitted," as he said, "to reduce very different troops from those of the covenanters,* and a very different kingdom from that of Scotland."

It appears that at this period, either through discontent at the turn which affairs had taken, or through a desire to try his fortune in a country more tranquil than his own, and in a career more profitable than that of arms, Monk listened to a proposition for founding a colony in Madagascar. The plan, however, failed. The Long parliament had met, and its quarrel with the king daily grew more violent; the insurrec-

* This was the name given to the presbyterians, and especially to those of Scotland, because when they first revolted, they, on the 1st of March, 1638, bound themselves to support each other, by a civil and religious compact, known by the name of the *covenant*.

tion of Catholic Ireland* offered every Englishman a national cause to defend, and every soldier a war to wage, without pledging himself to either party. The recent execution of Strafford† had left the government of Ireland vacant; and this office was conferred upon the Earl of Leicester, together with the command of the troops destined to quell the revolt. Every commander of an army had his own regiment; and Monk was appointed colonel of that of Leicester.

The parliament, about to engage in the civil war, had at that time too urgent need in England of its troops and money, to employ them in succouring the Irish Protestants, whose misfortunes they could so easily and so profitably impute to the king. Though supplies were continually promised and voted, they were never ready; or else they were diverted from their destination, or appropriated by Charles himself, who, whilst he complained of the indifference of the parliament to the deplorable situation of the Anglo-Irish, did not scruple to apply to his own use their powder and muskets, even taking them from the arsenal of Dublin. Some regiments were at length sent over, and among others that of the Earl of Leicester; but the earl himself stayed at home; not being at all eager to place himself at the head of a government without resources, of a wasted country, and of an army scarcely formed, and worse paid, he remained in London, leaving the command in Ireland to the Earl of Ormonde, lieutenant-general *ad interim*. Ormonde was a royalist, and, though himself a Protestant, belonged to a Catholic family; but he was one of the chief nobility of Ireland, and the only man with sufficient influence to counterbalance the formidable popular power which the insurrection had called into existence. On the first news of the rebellion, the king had appointed Ormonde commander-in-chief of the army, as being a man upon whose fidelity he could depend; the lords-justices, who were invested with the civil authority at Dublin, had had recourse to him, seeing that they could hope for assistance from no other person near them; and the parliament had accepted him, because they could not do otherwise.

It was on the 21st of February, 1642, that Monk dis-

* On the 23rd of October, 1641.

† Eight days after the re-assembling of the Long parliament, on the 11th of November, 1640, this great and despotic minister of Charles I. was impeached by the House of Commons, revolutionarily condemned on the 21st of April following, and executed on the 12th of May.

embarked at the port of Dublin at the head of a regiment of fifteen hundred infantry, and accompanied by four hundred cavalry under the command of Sir Richard Greenville. These troops had been preceded, about six weeks before, by the arrival of fourteen hundred men, the first whom England had sent to Ireland since the commencement of the rebellion. Of these fourteen hundred men, three hundred had arrived unprovided with arms, and all were without provisions, without ammunition, and without money, in a country exposed to the ravages of two rival parties. The most pressing necessity was not to lead these troops to battle, but to provide them with the means of subsistence. The forced supplies had been quickly exhausted, and the contractors, who received no pay, did not again make their appearance. In vain were the most lamentable supplications daily addressed to the king and the parliament; neither parliament nor king were willing to spare anything from what barely sufficed for their own wants. Inadequate supplies of money, provisions, ammunition, and accoutrements, arrived occasionally, and though always long expected, always fell far short of what was required and hoped, and being generally composed of damaged or inferior articles, served only to irritate the despair of the soldiers, thus abandoned in their distress to the cupidity of contractors.

To these causes of disorder was added the uncertainty of the measures of the Irish government; the inevitable vice of a council composed of two hostile parties, who, though obliged to act in concert, laboured only to destroy each other, and were careful merely to maintain a semblance of unanimity until the time when one should feel itself strong enough to dislodge the other. Ormonde was a zealous royalist; the lords justices were zealous parliamentarians. Leicester held his commission from the king, and inactive in London, commanded in the name of the parliament; Ormonde, established in Dublin, asserted the right of the king to appoint to public employments and to decide affairs of war. Conflicts of authority were frequent, and terminated always in favour of the party which at the moment happened to be most powerful. In general the adherents of the king had the advantage. In spite of the pretensions of Leicester, Ormonde, active and present, disposed of most appointments. The army, originally organized by Strafford, had lately received into its ranks the greater number of those officers whom the distrust of the parliament had deemed it wise to remove from England; and

the state of destitution in which it was left was not calculated to calm its discontent. It naturally turned to the two Houses, which were responsible for the evil, as they were in possession of the power. This power, however, itself restrained the feelings which it aroused; and the arrears of pay, as they accumulated, only bound the officers more and more closely to the cause which alone could pay them. Thus suspended between opposite inclinations and interests, and at the same time pressed by common dangers and enemies, the army, in presence of the revolted Irish, felt rather English than parliamentarian or royalist; and the lukewarmness of their political opinions afforded the leaders great latitude in gaining proselytes, and the inferiors much facility in maintaining a good understanding with both parties.

Monk, the most skilful of all, thenceforth began his apprenticeship to that art which he afterwards so dexterously practised,—the art of pushing his fortunes with the dominant party, without losing the confidence of that which might one day prevail. The absence of all passion, an apparent languor of mind, produced by the circumspection of his character, and a natural taciturnity preserved him from the snares of speech; he made little use of it in the conduct of life, except to ascertain the opinions of others, by giving a false account of his own. But his silence was active; with an assiduous but tranquil diligence he maintained relations everywhere that his situation permitted; and without ever appearing to have pledged himself, every one thought they had gained, or could gain him, if necessary. Besides, devoted with indefatigable activity to the difficult duties of the administration which had been intrusted to him, he appeared to be exclusively occupied by it; and the bitterness or distrust of political opinions could hardly reach a man with whom some special and urgent business was always to be transacted.

The military renown of a commander had little to gain in this sad and perilous war, almost always directed against enemies more easy to disperse than to reach, and from whom surprise was more to be feared than resistance. Monk rarely had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, but he never let one escape, and he always displayed, as at Tymochoe and Castle Jordan, the utmost skill and bravery in routing enemies much more numerous than his own troops. The greater number of these expeditions were confined to rapid incursions,

of which the object was devastation, the result pillage, and the march the greatest danger. These incursions were designedly multiplied; since, while they kept the troops employed, they supplied them with provisions for several days at least; but on each occasion it was necessary to go further to find some district to ravage, and the enterprise became every time more difficult for soldiers worn out by fatigue and unprovided with clothes or shoes. Many sank down by the road-side, incapable of proceeding further: more than once they refused to commence their march; and it was often to be feared that an announcement of departure would become the signal for a mutiny. Monk alone knew how to induce them to follow him. As skilful as he was bold, his presence always assured his men of success. "There was not," it was said, "a soldier ever so sick or so ill-shod, who would not make an effort to follow George Monk,"—a familiar name given him by the affection of the soldiers, who are always more disposed to obey when they have in some sort appropriated their commander to themselves, and can recognize a comrade in their leader. Monk, a soldier like themselves, with no other interest but theirs, was to them the object of that confidence which men, in pressing extremities, unreservedly repose in him on whom they think they can depend. Attentive to their wants, careful to remove from them those hardships which he could spare them, as regular in his communications with them as the irregularity of the circumstances in which they were placed would permit, he maintained in their minds that idea of justice which calms the impatience of subordinates, by tranquillizing their imagination, and strengthens the authority of the chief, because it leaves no ground for complaint against him.

Repulsed by degrees, and compelled to concentrate their forces, the Irish insurgents had left at the disposition of the government a large extent of land which, though waste and uncultivated, was likely soon to become fertile. It was at length determined to take advantage of this, and these estates became at once a resource to the army, and to the government a means of still retaining some influence. The privy council gave these lands *in custodiam* to commanders of corps, who had them cultivated by their soldiers, and derived from them a profit which was partially devoted to obtaining the means of subsistence for those who served under their orders. Favouritism usually presided in these distributions. Monk

contrived to obtain a good share, and turned it to advantage with that spirit of order and economy which was natural to him. The habits of labour which was destined to render their condition more endurable maintained obedience and gaiety among his soldiers; and without troubling themselves about the political coquetry to which their leader might be indebted for his credit, they attached themselves to him because he knew how to manage both for himself and for them. The royalist party did not take offence at it. Among men daily exposed to the extremest misery, opinion yielded to more pressing necessities; and few people thought of finding fault with the prudent dissimulation of a general anxious to obtain the arrears of his pay, or to obtain some equivalent which would enable him to wait.

It was not from the king that Monk could then expect the advancement and the favours reserved for men of higher rank and more ardent zeal. The post of governor of the town of Dublin fell vacant. Lord Leicester, immediately informed of it in London, appointed Monk to the office; but a nomination from the king arrived from Oxford a few days after, and it was for Lord Lambert. In vain did the lords-justices of Ireland strive to elude this decision: the preponderance of the royalists daily became more irresistible; and Monk, avoiding this perilous contest, contrived to retire so soon, and with such good grace, as not to compromise himself with the party which had thus disobliged him.

For an instant only he seemed to forget his ordinary circumspection. The pay of the army in Ireland had not been forthcoming since the commencement of the war. The parliament, to appease the dissatisfaction of the officers, and keep them under its power, proposed to fund a portion of their arrears, which it engaged to pay them in lands confiscated from the rebels as soon as by their vote the Houses had declared the subjection of Ireland. A register was to be opened, in which those who consented to the arrangement were to inscribe their names. The officers, who were mostly royalists, and moreover but little convinced that the parliament wished to put an end to this war, objected to this engagement. Some, however, subscribed; and Monk was one of the first to be drawn into the scheme. Reynolds, one of the Westminster commissioners, had offered to him, as well as to some others, to make himself personally responsible to them for the fidelity of the

parliament in fulfilling its promises. Induced, doubtless, by the fear of losing all if he refused this offer, Monk accepted it; but when the names were once inscribed on the registers, Reynolds was in no hurry to give his bond into the hands of those to whom it was to serve as a security. This affair being made public, caused Monk some trouble, and he learned to beware of precipitation even in an act of prudence.

The power of the parliament in Ireland was, however, drawing near its close. Evidently, it was not desirous to bring the war there to an end, and it was unable to sustain it. One of the principal members of the Committee for Irish Affairs, in London, had answered Major Warren, who was sent from Dublin to ask assistance, that "if only five hundred pounds were wanted to save Ireland, they would not be forthcoming." The officers at length resolved to address their complaints only to the king; and at the end of that petition, which was destined to bring about definitively a royalist revolution in the government of Ireland, figured the name of Monk. Already, during the month of February 1643, the parliamentary commissioners had left Dublin, where their position was no longer tenable. At length, on the 1st of August, there arrived from Oxford an order for the imprisonment of the Lord Justice Sir William Parsons, the leader of the parliamentary party, and of those members of the privy council who voted with him. Charles wished, by means of this measure, to remain free to conclude with the Irish insurgents a suspension of hostilities, which they, as well as himself, had long desired. It was signed on the 15th of September; and immediately afterwards Ormonde prepared to send a portion of the Irish army to the assistance of the king. He chose, for the purpose of being transferred to England, those regiments of which he thought himself most sure, and made them take an oath to serve the king against the army of the Earl of Essex, and every other parliamentary commander. Two officers only refused to take it: Monk was one of them. His political opinions leaned more towards the king than towards his enemies; but having been absent from England for more than eighteen months, he could not, without some investigation, decide with safety between the two parties: he had, besides, other interests to consider; and the hope of obtaining his pay from the parliament, before he took service against it, was, it appears, the prevailing and even avowed reason of his refusal. This reason was

accepted, and Ormonde consented to let him leave for London; but an incident occurred to derange Monk's plans, and constrain him to decide more promptly than he wished.

There are occasions when even circumspection compromises, and when carefulness to displease neither party exposes a man to the suspicions of all. The parliament, incensed at the suspension of hostilities which Charles had just concluded with the Irish insurgents, had resolved openly to separate, in Ireland as elsewhere, its interests from those of the king. They deliberated on the choice of a lieutenant-general whom they could effectively oppose to the earl, recently created marquis, of Ormonde. Lord Lisle, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, was proposed, and declared that he was sure to be joined by Monk and some other colonels of the army. The king was informed of Lord Lisle's promises, and Lord Digby reported them to Ormonde, but without attaching importance to them; for he said he had always heard those officers spoken of as men of honour. Digby at the same time wrote a persuasive letter to Monk, in which, treating him as an affectionate servant of the king, he pressed him to come and devote to him his services. The suspicion excited at Oxford with regard to Monk would therefore have produced no effect, if it had not been confirmed by another report. A person named Johnson, coming from London, declared that at the committee, while he was waiting for his passport to be signed, Mr. Pym, after having questioned him about the state of the army in Ireland, charged him to seek out Colonel Monk on his behalf, and to persuade him to use his influence with the soldiers, so as to divert them from serving the king, promising him all the assistance he might require, and a reward proportionate to the good offices which were expected from him. This language of Pym proved that, even if Monk had not yet entered into any engagement with the parliamentarians, they at least believed him disposed to be gained over by their favours. This was enough to make the royalists consider it prudent to preserve him from temptation. Instead of allowing him to embark with the troops, Ormonde sent him under a strong guard to Bristol; accompanying this act, however, with a pressing recommendation to the governor of that place to treat Monk well, so long as he was obliged to detain him, while awaiting orders from the king.

There was no longer room for deliberation; Monk arrived

at Bristol a decided royalist; and he soon inspired the governor, Lord Hawley, with so much confidence, that the latter sent him on his parole to Oxford, addressing him directly to the king, and charging him at the same time with letters for Lord Digby. He was received as a man of importance; the king consulted him on several occasions; and Monk, who was better skilled in commanding an army than in governing a party, advised him, if he wished to derive any advantage from his, to reduce it to 10,000 men, well-disciplined, and well-officered. His services appeared more useful than his advice; it was known that "of all the officers in the army, none was so dear to the soldiers;" and it was judged that he would nowhere be so serviceable as in the midst of those whom he had lately commanded. His regiment had been taken from him at the time of his arrest; but the king appointed him major-general of the troops which had come from Ireland, and were then engaged in the siege of Nantwich, under the command of Lord Byron. Monk had scarcely arrived at his post, when Fairfax, by the extraordinary rapidity of his march, surprised Lord Byron, defeated him at Nantwich, on the 25th of January, 1644, and forced him to raise the siege, leaving in the enemy's hands a large number of prisoners, and amongst others, the major-general, who, in the absence of the new colonel, had placed himself at the head of his old regiment. Monk was sent first to Hull, from whence he was, by order of the parliament, immediately transferred to London and confined in the Tower.

There he passed rather more than two years, faithful to the engagement which he had first contracted with the king, and obstinately rejecting the offers of the parliament. He several times solicited his exchange, but in vain; for, in London, they were aware of his importance as a military leader, and were desirous to detain him; whilst, at Oxford, men of a higher rank obtained the preference over him; and he languished in the Tower, a prey to all those miseries which can assail a prisoner without fortune. His father was dead; his elder brother, embarrassed in his affairs, and busily engaged in serving the king, wherever the chances of war might lead him, had but little leisure or means to send him his very moderate allowance. But Monk's connexion with the family of the Earl of Leicester, who had always been devoted to the

parliament, had never been broken off; from them he received some assistance; and at the same time, the king, more constant in remembering him than powerful to serve him, sent him a hundred pounds; a remarkable proof of interest and consideration, when we regard the state of penury in which the court at Oxford were obliged to live.

Meanwhile, events pursued their course. In 1646, the king was a prisoner in the hands of the parliament, and the civil war seemed decidedly at an end. Monk no longer had any choice to make; and, ceasing to be dangerous to the revolutionary party, might become useful to it. Lord Lisle, appointed lieutenant-general of Ireland for one year, was at length thinking of going thither; and Monk was considered a fit person to act as his second. The efforts to gain him over, which now probably became more active, were also more effective. "Money, which he loved dearly," says Clarendon,* "aided Cromwell not a little in obtaining his decision." The necessity, however, of swearing to the covenant still presented an obstacle. Monk's whole life attests the repugnance which he felt for oaths; and this was considering them of some importance. Besides, he was not fond of extreme parties, and an ardently parliamentarian army doubtless appeared to him a bad means for pacifying Ireland. Numerous conferences with men, who being, like himself, prisoners in the Tower, could influence his conscience and his politics, at length determined him to accept the proffered conditions; and on the 13th of November, 1646, a message from the House of Lords informed the House of Commons of Colonel Monk's submission, and requested that, on account of his military talents, he should be employed in the Irish war. The Commons consented to this, induced by Monk's popularity in the army. One member only, Mr. Cawley, opposed it; for what reason we do not know. Monk left his prison to go and serve the parliament, leaving in the Tower the royalists, his companions in misfortune, who notwithstanding his desertion of their cause, never ceased, in their private conversations, to flatter themselves that he would one day be useful to the king.

The king's party was at that time overcome in Ireland, as

* This phrase, which we find in the manuscripts of Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, was omitted in the early editions: it has, however, been restored in the last edition published at Oxford.

elsewhere. The truce concluded with the Catholic insurgents had not effected a sincere and effectual union between them and the Protestant royalists. Without hope that Charles could send him any succour, and stripped of all resources, Ormonde, who would not, at any price, deliver the fate of the Irish Protestants into the hands of the Catholics, had entered into a negociation with the English parliament, to place Dublin and the shattered remains of the government in their possession. The negociation was prolonged very greatly. Parliamentary commissioners and Lord Lisle came successively, the former to Dublin, the latter to Cork, without effecting anything; and Monk had returned to England two months, before the treaty was finally signed on the 19th of June, 1647.

By this treaty, the parliament entered into possession of the government of Ireland, with the exception of the districts occupied by the rebels. It was judged more prudent to divide this government, than to place such great power in the hands of one man. Colonel Jones had the command in Leinster, and Monk in Ulster, a province from which James I. had expelled the inhabitants, that he might establish Scottish colonists there. Resentment and interest had made the dispossessed proprietors the most irreconcileable enemies of the English dominion. Assembled under the leadership of Owen O'Neill, the ablest and boldest of the insurgent chieftains, the *old Irish* (so the exiles of Ulster named themselves) wandered incessantly in arms around their former dwellings, and sometimes penetrated into the very heart of the province; always beaten, but always returning to the charge, and collecting again in one point almost as soon as they were dispersed in another. It was impossible to come to a regular action with them; O'Neill carefully avoided such encounters, and would not have been able to sustain them. It was not so difficult to repel his attacks as to prevent them. Monk succeeded in this by dint of vigilance; and by setting spies to follow O'Neill's footsteps, and taking care to cut off his supplies of provisions and to ravage the neighbourhood of his encampments, he was soon in a condition to fear little from him.

But, in the interior of his government, he had to struggle against graver difficulties. At the commencement of the Irish rebellion, Scotland had sent to the aid of the Scottish

colonists who were settled in Ulster, a body of troops which, under the command of Robert Monroe, had taken possession of the country, and for six years had done with it as they pleased. The *new Scotch* had become an object of hatred to their fellow-countrymen, the *old Scotch*, and all were sufficiently ill-disposed towards the English troops. Monk already excelled in keeping parties at peace, by taking advantage of their hostilities. Under his administration, all recognized his authority; an arbitrary, but generally equitable kind of justice was dispensed; the land was cultivated; and, by his economy in the distribution of booty, and of the small produce of the land, he contrived to maintain the war without assistance, and almost to make his soldiers forget that they were receiving none of their pay; whilst his table, always abundantly supplied, was ever open to his officers, who had scarcely any other means of subsistence.

To the personal animosities which divided the two Scottish populations of Ulster, political dissensions were soon added. The second civil war was breaking out in England;* the parliament of Scotland had declared for the king; its army was already in the field; and Sir George Monroe, a nephew of Robert Monroe, had received a command in it. For some time past, Robert had been requested to join his nephew; and he must have been the more inclined to do this, because the English parliament had of late caused great discontent among the Scottish troops stationed in Ulster, by insisting, though unsuccessfully, that they should return to Scotland, and return without being paid. Distrust of each other daily increased: Monk judged it prudent to end this by a single stroke; and in concert with the old Scotch, towards the middle of September 1648, at the time when Cromwell, victorious at Preston, was crossing the Tweed at the head of the parliamentary army, he fell unexpectedly upon the quarters of Robert Monroe, took possession of Belfast and Carrickfergus, and sent the Scottish army and its general prisoners to England. It was stated, not without some foundation, that Robert Monroe was actually preparing to go and join his nephew, George, in order to serve the royal cause with him; according to some even, his project was to carry off Monk, who had only been beforehand with him. However this may be, the discovery was opportune, and no service

* This was in 1648.

could have been more agreeable to the parliament, and especially to Cromwell, whom this stroke delivered from a portion of his enemies whom he might have feared would cause him trouble. A Thanksgiving service was celebrated at London; Monk received a gratuity of five hundred pounds; a letter of thanks was addressed to him; he was appointed governor of Belfast, and consulted on the choice of the governor of Carrickfergus; and an order was given to propose means for ensuring the payment of his soldiers.

It was urgently necessary to provide for this, for the Marquis of Ormonde had just returned to Ireland to place himself at the head of the Protestant royalists, and conclude a new alliance with most of the Catholic leaders. O'Neill was almost the only one not included in this treaty. The *old Irish*, victims of the government of James I., were bound by no tie to a Protestant dynasty, and their secret wish was to make Ireland an independent kingdom, under the protection of the Pope. Around O'Neill rallied the fanatical Catholics, blindly obedient to the directions of the nuncio Rinuccini. O'Neill had always opposed hindrances to the attempts of the Marquis of Ormonde to reduce all the Irish to obedience to Charles; and he was at that time equally at war with both the royalists and the parliamentarians. But the latter did not cause him much uneasiness, for they were not able to do him much harm. The promises made to Monk for the payment of his troops had not been performed; his soldiers, in their distress, heard that Ormonde's army was well fed and well paid; their affection for their commander was not sufficient to resist so great a seduction; and they deserted in troops, to swell the ranks of the royalists. On their side, the *old Scotch* of Ulster, after having helped Monk against their fellow-countrymen, the soldiers of Monroe, had in their turn abandoned him to join Ormonde. The government at London, then in the hands of the Independents,* and under the influence of Cromwell, was not ignorant of the distress of its army in Ireland, but was not as yet in a position to succour it. To prevent its expulsion or total destruction, by opposing some obstacle to the progress of the royalists, was all that could be

* Such was the name of that religious and political sect which, in 1645, took the empire of the English revolution from the Presbyterians, and, in 1649, decided the execution of Charles I. and the proclamation of a Republic.

attempted. It listened, therefore, to the propositions of the *old Irish* and of Owen O'Neill, who, himself reduced to the most pressing extremities, was ready to treat with either party, according as he might find it his interest and safety to do so. His inclination led him towards the Independents, who were predominant at London, but too weak in Ireland to give him the law, and who, on their side, were rather inclined to show momentary favour to O'Neill and the Irish fanatics, looking upon them as a party whom it would be easy to destroy after they had been made use of to arrest the progress of Ormonde and the Irish royalists, who were much more dangerous enemies. O'Neill had entered into negociations with the Independent leaders by means of the Abbé O'Reilly, his agent in London; and he maintained at the same time, in Leinster and Ulster, a very active intercourse with the parliamentary governors, Jones and Monk. They had been authorized to furnish him secretly with small supplies of money and ammunition, which were always to be paid for by some enterprise against their common enemies. These attacks of a bandit chieftain were insignificant against the powerful royalist confederation which then overspread Ireland, and his alliance compromised instead of serving. The time, however, arrived when Monk had no other resource but to call in and avow this dangerous ally. Of seven hundred men whom he had retained, five hundred left him to pass over to the enemy, "who had money." Meanwhile, Cromwell, appointed lieutenant-general of Ireland, and provided with all the means of success which had until then been refused to his predecessors, had left London on the 10th of July, 1649, with a pompous retinue, on his way to Bristol, where he was to embark with his army. The hope of a speedy deliverance still sustained the last efforts of the parliamentary leaders, when Monk learned that a body of royalists, under the command of Lord Inchiquin, was advancing to besiege Dundalk. Most of the other places held by the parliament were alike besieged or taken: and all intercommunication was cut off. Certain that he would not be relieved, and unable to reckon surely upon the small number of men who surrounded him, Monk demanded of O'Neill that, in virtue of the agreements which had previously been made between them, he should assemble his forces to fall on the royalists as soon as they should approach the town. O'Neill replies that he is ready, but in

want of ammunition. Nevertheless, he sets out on his march; and, on the 25th of July, having arrived with his troops at Glassdromore, about seven miles from Dundalk, he detaches a body of twelve hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry, to escort the ammunition with which Monk was to supply him. The *old Irish* were returning joyfully, conveying the ammunition which they had received from Monk, when they learned that Inchiquin was advancing towards them; they hastened their progress to endeavour to regain the main body of their army, but in vain. Inchiquin came up with them, and carried off their ammunition after a sanguinary conflict, in which five hundred of them were left dead upon the field. The remainder were taken or dispersed; and, says Whitelocke, "few of them escaped without their death-wounds." At the news of this disaster, O'Neill's army, panic-stricken, took to flight, and retired into the county of Longford.

The effect of this check was not less terrible in the little camp of the English attached to the service of the parliament. To behold themselves the allies of the papist O'Neill and of the defeated O'Neill, was a disgrace for which they could not forgive their general. Indignation was now added to the alarm caused by the approach of danger. Monk saw his situation; but, determined to keep it up to the end, he assembled his soldiers, and with that tone of military bluntness which, in him, accompanied the authority of command, inquired of them if they still consented to follow him. "If any one of you," he said, "is averse to fighting in this quarrel, let him speak; he shall receive a pass from me." A single soldier advanced, declaring that his conscience did not permit him to remain in the same cause with O'Neill; and the pass was delivered to him. The others, yielding to the enthusiasm excited by the presence of a leader whom they had not yet learned to disobey, swore with loud shouts to remain faithful to him, and Monk shut himself up with them within the walls of Dundalk. The town was well provisioned; Cromwell was on his way; a few days more, and fortune might again declare for the parliamentarians. Monk hoped to hold out long enough to await the success of his party; but the town was speedily invested by Inchiquin. The enthusiasm now cooled down; both soldiers and officers ran to the ramparts, and, shouting from

thence to Inchiquin's troops, that they would never consent to fight under the orders of O'Neill's ally, they forced Monk to surrender Dundalk. As calm in his disappointment as he had been in his resolution, he did not forget to make his own conditions, and departed with permission to take away what belonged to him.

He was returning to England, tranquilly confident that he had well served those from whom he received his orders, when he met at Bristol, Cromwell, just ready to embark, who informed him of the excitement which the report of his alliance with O'Neill had produced in London. The Protestant feeling of the nation had burst out with an angry energy which it would have been useless to attempt to check. The Independents, whom Monk had obeyed, far from avowing their share in the matter, left him to bear the whole fury of the storm, and, without exactly wishing to sacrifice him to public opinion, refused to expose themselves in his defence. At this news, Monk manifested no indignation,—did not reject the burden thus cast upon him,—but continued his journey to London, bearing with him, besides certain sums of money furnished to him by Cromwell, some pressing letters to the principal leaders.

He found them little disposed to compromise the secret of their own connexion with O'Neill, by giving him hearty support. Among the Presbyterian party, which was passionately opposed to the Independents, the men of ability, persuaded that Monk had not acted without orders, were eagerly pursuing the discovery of a fact so well calculated to injure in popular estimation those who could be convicted of having participated in it. Monk, when interrogated by the council of state and the parliament, took all the blame to himself, without alleging any other excuse than necessity. Long and violent debates took place in the house; some one proposed to commit Monk to the Tower, whereupon another answered, that "it would be better to commit the Tower to him." However, some satisfaction was due to public opinion; it was necessary to divert suspicions of alliance with the Irish papists, or at least to deprive them of all grounds of justification. The Independent party did not hesitate to give itself the lie, by agreeing to a vote that "the government disapproved of Major-general Monk having made peace with the great and sanguinary Irish rebel, Owen Roe O'Neill, and

abhorred all participation in that act." But, having allowed their adversaries this little triumph, the Independents, careful also not to discourage their friends, had a vote passed, that "the parliament, persuaded that Major-general Monk had no object in this but the advantage of the English cause in Ireland, discharged him from any further question in the matter." Monk had reckoned on more sincere and decisive efforts; he was deeply hurt at the turn which the debate had taken, and the accusations which had been allowed to rest upon him unanswered. Prudent men thought that either too much or too little had been done for him; and they blamed the policy, which, says Whitelocke, had been "to beat him, and to stroak him afterwards; and some believe," he adds, "that he never forgot it." Attempts were also made to extenuate the effect of this unfortunate affair on the public; the Independent party printed the articles of Monk's treaty with O'Neill, adding thereto a declaration of the reasons which had led Monk to enter into it; but the public suspected the truth, and were only the more vehement in anathematizing any partisan of the parliament capable of treating with the execrated enemies of the English.

About this period, Monk's elder brother died of a fall from his horse, leaving only daughters. The family property thus devolved upon the major-general, and, under his skilful management, soon recovered from its disorder. Power, at this time, even in its inferior ranks, led constantly to wealth; no service rendered to the dominant party went without its reward. Much has been said of Monk's avarice, and much of his economy; but it does not appear that any one has ever attacked his probity. But when a government becomes a party to venality, legal probity is easy to its agents; and without incurring any accusation, or even any reproach, a commander-in-chief of the army in Ireland might very well make his fortune, if not at the expense, at least in the midst, of soldiers without pay, without shoes, and without clothes.

Cromwell, at the head of the first army which the parliament had sent into Ireland, had quickly subjugated the country by dint of victories and massacres. He had just met with equal success in alarming the conscience of Fairfax about the war which the parliament was meditating against Scotland, then revolted in favour of Charles II.; he had, as it were,

thrust Fairfax out of the command of the troops intended for that expedition, and was proceeding alone to this new triumph. Monk had acquired Cromwell's entire confidence; there was as close an intimacy between them as there can be between two clever and ambitious men, one of whom consents to make his fortune by helping the other on to greatness. Determined to employ Monk near himself, Cromwell first organized a regiment for him, and then appointed him lieutenant-general of the artillery. Monk's military talents assumed in this war the rank which belonged to them. At Dunbar, on the 3rd of September, 1650, Cromwell, hard-pressed by the Scotch, who were superior in numbers, had imprudently brought his army into a confined position, between the sea and the heights occupied by the enemy. There was no other way of retreat than a narrow passage, guarded by a strong body of troops. The general assembled his council; terror had seized all minds; and few officers gave their opinion in favour of an engagement. "Sir," said Monk, "the Scots have numbers and the hills: these are their advantages. We have discipline and despair, two things that will make soldiers fight! these are ours. My advice, therefore, is to attack them immediately, which if you follow, I am ready to command the van." These words put an end to all opposition; and Monk, pike in hand, at the head of his soldiers, forced the passage, which the Scotch, surprised at so vigorous a charge, did not long defend. This success decided the victory.

When Cromwell was obliged to return to England to pursue and attack Charles II. at Worcester,* he left Monk, with six thousand men, to complete the reduction of Scotland; he also left him the example of his conduct in Ireland, and probably some instructions to follow. Monk was persuaded that men constitute the strength of a place; "neither bulwarks nor rocks," he used to say, "are such fortifications as man's flesh." He determined to crush entirely the courage of the enemy. Rapid attacks and sanguinary executions everywhere intimidated resistance. Weakness did not always save, nor was valour always respected. Monk laid siege to Dundee, where all the wealth of southern Scotland had been

* On the 3rd of September, 1651. About a month before, Charles had suddenly determined to transfer the war from Scotland to England, and Cromwell had hastened to follow him.

deposited, as in a place of safety. Lumsden, the governor of the place, a man remarkable for his bravery, was summoned to surrender. His only answer was to offer the besiegers, if they would surrender themselves with their arms and baggage, passes to return home. The town, bravely defended, but ill guarded by the soldiers, who were invariably drunk, was taken by assault, after some resistance, and Monk put to the sword in cold blood, Lumsden and eight hundred of the garrison.* A general outcry was raised against this barbarity. Even his panegyrists appear to have thought that a violent malady, under which Monk nearly sank some time afterwards, might be regarded as a chastisement for the terrible services which he had rendered in this war. It was remarked also, that sixty vessels, laden with the booty obtained at Dundee, perished in sight of port, and almost without a storm, with the treasures which they were conveying to England; as if Providence had at least wished to mark by some sign of its anger, the odious success which it had resolved to permit. The indifferent policy which had combined such cruelties, succeeded in Scotland as in Ireland; all submitted. The Edinburgh road was infested with brigands, known by the name of "moss-troopers;" Monk pursued them, and captured them in their retreat at Dirlton; and to disorder succeeded at last the appearance of peace.

After a short sojourn in England, for the restoration of his health, Monk, at the commencement of 1652, returned to Scotland with St. John, Vane, Lambert, and some other commissioners, who had been sent, with himself, to forward the union of the two nations. Specially charged, as it would appear, with secret instructions from Cromwell, Monk showed himself vigilant and rigorous against the Presbyterians in Scotland, and favourable to the royalist remnants of the party of Montrose; and, in spite of the recollection of his recent cruelties, he laid from thenceforward the foundation of that monarchical popularity, which, notwithstanding contrary appearances, constantly directed towards him the hopes of the Stuarts and their party.

War had now broken out between England and Holland. The two republics had not been able to live in peace for two

* There is much reason to doubt the truth of this statement; it is supported by only one authority, and unmentioned by other writers, both royalists and parliamentarians.

years. In 1653, Monk was appointed to the command of the fleet, in conjunction with Admirals Blake and Dean. On the 2nd of June, the English with ninety-five vessels, and the Dutch with ninety-eight, met and attacked each other off the coast of Flanders. Blake was separated from the main body of the fleet with a squadron of eighteen vessels. Tromp commanded the Dutch fleet. Dean was killed close by Monk at the first broadside; Monk threw his cloak over the admiral's body, forbade his men to haul down their colours, forced the Dutch to retreat, and pursued them during the whole night. The next morning, reinforced by the junction of Blake, he attacked the enemy, captured eleven of their ships, sank six, and compelled the rest to fly. The report became current through Europe, that he had been killed in the action. On July 31, the two fleets again joined battle. The Dutch, who had retreated to their harbours to refit, had the advantage of numbers. Monk, so as not to employ his vessels in guarding prizes, ordered that every vessel captured should be sunk. Thirty perished with their crews, and Tromp was killed in the action at the moment when, sword in hand upon the deck of his ship, he was encouraging his men to fight. The Dutch took to flight, and sued for peace. The English admirals returned to London, to reap the reward of their triumph. The parliament voted them, as marks of honour, golden chains and medals; and, on the day of the dinner given in the city in celebration of the victory, Cromwell himself placed the chain round Monk's neck, and forced him to wear it during the whole festival.

The return of the new admiral was marked by a domestic event which was not without its influence upon his conduct and reputation. Unrefined tastes, and that need of repose in private life which frequently accompanies activity in business, had brought him under the power of a woman of vulgar manners, destitute even of the charms which can seduce, and whose behaviour did not contradict the rumour which placed her origin in a shop, or according to some, in a much less honest profession. She had lived for a long while with Monk, and joined to the power of habit, the authority conferred by an impetuosity of will and words, which disturbed, and sometimes overcame, the cool circumspection of her lover. It has been said that she succeeded, in 1649, in inducing him to marry her; but it is certain that this marriage was not

declared until 1653, for a letter from London, dated on the 19th of September in that year, thus announced the news:— "Our Admiral Monk hath lately declared an ugly common [prostitute] his wife, and legitimated three or four bastards he hath had by her during his growth in grace and saintship." The newsmonger, according to all appearance, had amused himself by adding to the scandal, for Monk is not known to have had a child older than his son Christopher, after him Duke of Albemarle, and born in the course of this same year, 1653. There is, therefore, room for supposing that the birth of this son was the cause of his marriage. Monk, besides, either from sincerity or prudence, maintained that devout appearance which was then indispensable to fortune; and, without falling into the hypocritical jargon of the times, he thought it right to keep his conduct free from all irregularities which might be hurtful to him, even in eyes less severe than those of the saints. It appears certain that his wife used, if not the influence of religion, at least the discourses of its ministers, to induce him to marry her. "Taking no care for any other part of herself," says Clarendon, "she had deposited her soul with some Presbyterian ministers." They declared the necessity of the marriage, and perhaps employed, to decide the general, some of those sermons which his wife, in the course of their union, was careful to use whenever she wanted to tire out his resistance. She was one of the rather ignoble causes, which, at a later period, urged Monk to display his superior faculties, at a great crisis; and she subsequently became, when he had attained high rank, a striking proof of the vulgarity of his habits and tastes.*

But all was then lost sight of in the popularity of Monk's naval victories, the first which, for eleven years, had given the English the pleasure of triumphing over a foreign enemy. To the violently-dissolved Long parliament, the Barebone parliament had succeeded; an assembly of fanatical bigots, who believed their success certain when they had repented over their reverses. Monk was in their eyes the favourite of the Lord. For a moment, their enthusiasm about him disturbed Cromwell. Tired of being incessantly obliged to deceive without ever being able to lead them, Cromwell soon

* This is another of the passages suppressed in the early editions of Clarendon, and restored in that of Oxford.

discovered that he would find only unteachable and unskilful instruments of his will in men who possessed faith, but no knowledge. Resolved to bring them to resign the power of which he was not willing to deprive them, he feared lest they should make Monk a support against his insinuations, and a power against his designs; but he was speedily reassured. Monk accepted the high station offered to him, but without pretending to aim higher; and after a short conference, Cromwell, skilful in discovering weaknesses of which he stood in need, understood that, too much attached to the fortune he had already made to risk it by seeking to increase it, Monk was a sure man so long as he felt himself sure. Cromwell, therefore, pursued his course, without fearing any hindrance on his part. The Barebone parliament allowed itself to be thrust out; and, four days afterwards, on the 16th of December, 1653, a council of officers appointed Cromwell Protector.

Free to choose henceforward between peace and war, Cromwell thought it advantageous to his new dignity to treat with the Dutch upon more favourable conditions than had been granted them by the republican parliament and council of state. Monk disapproved of peace: he did not like the Dutch, who had formerly offended him; participated in the popular prejudices of an Englishman against them; and, as enemies, despised them with all the boldness of a soldier and a conqueror. Besides, he held sway of the sea, and did not expect to be so soon deprived of it. He shared in the public indignation against a treaty which wounded the national pride, as well as injured a great many private interests; and his vehemence in this respect added to his popularity in the country without at all diminishing his credit with the Protector. Appointed to regulate the navy accounts, Monk acquired new titles to popular favour by his proceedings: his protection was granted to all who had justice on their side, or who could plead the services they had rendered; wounded men, widows, and orphans, obtained, by his assistance, the aid to which they were entitled; and those who had been his comrades in danger learned to depend on him in peace as well as in the hour of conflict. One morning, whilst he was sitting at the Admiralty, some thousands of sailors came tumultuously to complain of the delay which occurred before they were paid their share of the prize-money. Monk went out, and pro-

mised them that they should be paid as soon as all the captured ships had been sold. They retired apparently satisfied with this promise. In the afternoon Monk went to Whitehall,* and was relating what had occurred to the Protector, when a messenger came to inform him that a troop more numerous than that which had assembled in the morning was advancing towards the palace, armed with swords, pistols, and bludgeons, and that it had already nearly reached Charing Cross. Monk had given to the sailors one of those promises which he never failed to perform. Indignant that it had not been sufficient, he rushed out of Whitehall, and, followed by Cromwell and some others who hastened after him, ran to meet the mutineers, fell upon them sword in hand, and hitting both right and left, dispersed them even more by his presence than by his blows. In the confusion he had wounded in the nose a man who was there only by chance: he directed that ten pounds should be given to him; "But," said he, "what business had that rook in the midst of a crowd of birds of prey?"

New storms were rising in Scotland. Cromwell now had to defend, instead of achieving his greatness. He could not leave England, and he looked around him for some one to whom he could confide the dangerous power of representing him among the Scotch. Fleetwood, his son-in-law, and Desborough, his brother-in-law, were both incompetent. He did not dare to entrust Lambert with such a mission at a distance from him; for, though ill-adapted to succeed, he was ready to undertake much. He resolved to confide it to Monk with all the precautions of distrust. The body of troops which he gave him was composed of the most restless and fanatical soldiers in the army. He was aware of Monk's aversion to such men; and knowing also that Monk was in a certain degree suspected by them, he calculated that they would mutually watch over each other.

Monk arrived in Scotland on the 23rd of April, 1654. Everywhere he found ferment and trouble: on one side, Middleton, at the head of the insurgent royalists in the Highlands; on the other, the people discontented and ready for sedition; the army, without discipline, abandoned to all sorts of religious folly, and at open war with the presbyterian

* The palace of Charles I., built by the celebrated architect, Inigo Jones, and in which Cromwell resided. This palace was twice destroyed by fire, viz., in 1691 and 1698.

clergy, whom it had driven from the churches and the pulpit. Monk thought that there was an urgent necessity for employing their ardent imaginations in works of greater difficulty; and having quickly made his preparations, he left some troops to keep the Lowlands in order, and entered the Highlands with the rest of his army. Here they found, if not many enemies to combat, at least fatigues enough to make them daily feel in need of repose. He had divided his forces into two bodies, one commanded by himself, and the other by General Morgan, in order to harass the enemy on all sides. His first care was to possess himself, as he advanced through the country, of every post capable of defence. Having one day arrived at the house of one Campbell, laird of Glenorchie, he found it fitted to receive a small garrison. The laird refused to yield it up. "Well," said Monk, "I will not violate hospitality;" and he immediately ordered the officers who accompanied him to evacuate the house. "Now," said he to the laird, "look to the defence, for we are about to attack." The laird, although surrounded by a considerable number of his friends and relations, judged it prudent to treat, and consented to receive a garrison, on condition that a portion of his house should remain at his own service.

Monk had established large magazines of fodder and biscuit at Leith, St. Johnstoun, and Inverness; from whence he drew provisions for all his small posts, and thus always had the necessary supplies within his reach. He made each soldier take with him provisions for six days; and laden only with this light baggage, he was able to penetrate into fastnesses which until then the Highlanders had considered inaccessible. The horses were not always able to follow him: many fell among the precipices; and one day he lost forty-one in a morass. But in these unknown districts, in the midst of enemies ambushed everywhere along his route, his vigilance never allowed the foe to gain the slightest advantage over him. Informed by the spies whom he maintained in all quarters, he regulated his marches by certain information. They were short. Arriving almost always by mid-day at the place where he intended to encamp, he himself chose the position, marked the enclosure, posted the sentinels, looked to everything, and sent out foraging or exploring parties; then seating himself on the ground, in the midst of his officers, he took a repast of cold meat,—a species of provision which

always followed him in abundance, and which he almost invariably shared with them. During the evening he received them in his tent, at a table covered with everything that the country could furnish. His soldiers relied as much upon his active vigilance as upon the walls of a citadel. He attended to their supply of food, provided as he best could for their lodging, watched over them in difficult circumstances; and even had, in cases of necessity, recipes and remedies for their ailments. He thus in every sense overran the enemy's country, restraining some, and making others fly before him; perplexing and starving Middleton, who, destitute of magazines and strongholds, had reckoned upon finding the means of subsistence and defence in the country itself, his possession of which would, he thought, be disputed by none. Neither party were desirous to come to an engagement. Middleton did not think himself strong enough to sustain a battle, and Monk was sure that he could do without one. The secret communications kept up by Cromwell in the country, and the pardon promised to those who submitted, had weakened the resolution of the Scottish chiefs; and rendering it impossible for Middleton to risk an engagement, constrained him to allow his forces to be destroyed in detail. However, Morgan having surprised and defeated him at Loch Garry, that check destroyed at a blow the languishing remnant of the party. Middleton retired into the island of Skye, from whence he passed into Holland. The country submitted. The army did not, however, retire until it had, by the establishment of a certain number of garrisons, ensured the payment of the taxes, which up to that time the inhabitants of the Highlands had thought they could refuse with impunity; and order was established in these refuges of robbers to so great an extent, that it is said the proprietor of a strayed horse sent the crier round the country to recover it.

Monk returned to Edinburgh towards the end of August 1654. Armed with the power of a conqueror, he used it with severity. The Anabaptists were repressed; the Presbyterians received full liberty to exercise their worship, but were forbidden to interfere in civil affairs with the arm of excommunication, and to manifest their opinions of the measures of the government. The conventicles were strictly sought after, and dispersed of their own accord at the sight of a squadron. A Scottish gentleman no longer had permission to wear a sword, to ride

a horse of more than a certain value, to raise his banner against his personal enemies, or to exercise arbitrary jurisdiction over his vassals and domestics. All had to yield to a yoke which, though harsh, was equitable; rendered tolerable by regularity, and not aggravated by insolence. The army was kept in as much subjection as the country. No disorder was permitted, no injustice tolerated, either on the part of the officer towards the soldier, or of the soldier towards the citizen. The troops, well paid, brought prosperity to trade and repose to the country. Quiet but indefatigable in his activity, the general had fixed his residence at Dalkeith, a mansion belonging to the Earls of Buccleugh, which he had taken on lease, and where he spent the five years of his command in Scotland. There, always at work or in his plantations, which he was fond of as a recreation and employment, he gave access to all, listened to everything they had to say; had a language for all ranks, all classes, and all parties; kept himself well acquainted with all occurrences; and learning what he had to fear or watch, directed, by his own personal knowledge, the numerous spies whose reports never reached any other ears or hands than his own. He thus spared himself those useless vexations which excite even more hatred against a suspicious government than the rigour of its proceedings.

Towards the month of June 1655, when Scotland was completely subjugated, Cromwell appointed for its government a commission composed of Lord Broghill, as president, Monk, Desborough, and Colonels Howard, Lockhart, Scroop, and Wetham. Their powers were very extensive; and the majority which Monk constantly had in this council placed them nearly all in his hands. Dalkeith was really the centre of the government; and the Scottish nobility, Monk's obsequious politeness towards whom palliated the harshness of his authority, learned to approach him, and to derive, from his feelings with regard to the proscribed dynasty, a confidence which he never authorized in such a manner as to be afterwards obliged to discourage it.

A servant of Cromwell, but the hope of the royalist party, and inflexible in denying any immediate intervention of the Lord in public affairs, Monk was necessarily an object of hatred to all religious and political fanatics. This hatred had burst out during the early part of his residence in Scotland. Overton, the major-general of his infantry, a millenarian

enthusiast and leader of the malcontents, had formed the plan of seizing the command of the troops and declaring against Cromwell. The conspirators intended to surprise Monk at Dalkeith on the 1st of January, 1656. Some wished that he should be killed; but Samuel Oates,* a minister, opposed this, threatening to reveal all, if his murder were contemplated. This opposition caused the postponement of the conference to another day. Monk, informed of the plot, towards the end of December, arrested Overton and several of his accomplices, and sent them to London. A great many others were cashiered; and Monk took advantage of this occurrence to be more stringent in his army against that fanaticism and independence which were so obnoxious to him.

This conspiracy was the only one which he had to guard against during his stay in Scotland. Royalist plots became at this period more numerous. They multiplied around Cromwell; but with respect to Monk, the efforts of the party took another direction. As early as the year 1655, he had received the following letter from Charles II.:—

"Cologne, Aug. 12, 1655.

"One who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well assures me, that notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the seasonable opportunity, which is as much as I look for from you. We must all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect. When it is, let it find you ready; and in the meantime have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture; and can never but suspect your affection to be as I am confident it is towards your, &c. "CHARLES REX."

Monk sent a copy of this letter to Cromwell. Whatever

* Mr. Maseres, in his *Select Tracts*, has supposed that this Oates, whose Christian name is not given by Price, who relates the occurrence, was the famous Titus Oates. I had expressed doubts of the correctness of this assertion, in my *Collection of Memoirs relative to the English Revolution* (Memoirs of Price, p. 148, note), but without alleging any other reasons than the impossibility of the fact. The error is now demonstrated. The Oates here mentioned is Samuel Oates or Otes, chaplain of Colonel Pride's regiment, as we see by his signature at the end of a letter addressed by several members of the party to Major Holmes, of Monk's regiment. (Intercepted Letter of December 18, 1644. Thurloe, State Papers, vol. iii. p. 30.)

might be his bias or anticipation, he never forestalled the future: and always solely occupied in securing his present position, he left time to decide what he might have to do. Already too powerful not to give umbrage to the power which he served, he was sufficiently strong to render it dangerous to attack him, unless he supplied weapons against himself. By avoiding the least pretext for suspicion, he derived strength from the very fears which he inspired; and Cromwell, now able only to watch him, felt that he was escaping from his hands.

During the last years of Cromwell's protectorate and Monk's residence in Scotland, we may observe the growth, on the one side, of disquietude, and, on the other, of assurance and power, although always accompanied by forms of unlimited respect, and appearances of unbounded devotedness. If Monk congratulates the protector on the resolution he has taken to convoke a parliament, the special advantage which he perceives in such a step is, that if this new assembly behaves badly, no one can blame his highness for transacting the business of the nation without it.* In 1657 he requests that the taxation of Scotland may be diminished, and insists upon the motives of justice which ordain that, as that country had been united to England, it should be placed upon a footing of real equality with her; "then," he adds, "in case they be not quiet, I think it were just reason to plant it with English."† But he nevertheless pursues his demands with firmness. During the same year, being consulted, as it appears, by Cromwell, about the plan which the government had formed of interfering in the appointment of the magistrates of Glasgow, he exhibits in forcible terms the illegality and danger of such an attempt.‡ The next year he solicits assistance for the city of Edinburgh, which had been reduced to extreme difficulty by its debts and poverty.§ Monk is no longer the mere man of power, busied in restraining and subduing; he is a man of the country, touched by its interests, careful of its rights, and attentive to its wants. Cromwell is uneasy, and fears to displease him, but would willingly weaken him; he withdraws from him those officers and regiments upon whom he can reckon most surely,

* Monk to Thurloe, July 1, 1656.
† Monk to Thurloe, June 4, 1657.
‡ Monk to Thurloe, September 24, 1657.
§ Monk to Thurloe, March 17, 1658.

to replace them by the most restless of that party over which Monk has no power, and against which he has always practised and recommended severity. An order from the council of state directs a reduction of the number of troops stationed in Scotland. Monk represents the folly of such a step; Cromwell recalls the order, but with so much delay, that Monk, who is desirous to maintain himself, and not to quarrel, regretfully announces that he has obeyed. About this same time the hopes of the royalists revive in Scotland; a descent is talked of; the whole nation becomes agitated. "They are as malignant," writes Monk, "as ever I knew them. But," he adds, elsewhere, "I do not see them look so much after Charles Stuart's business, but the hopes they have of discontent among ourselves."* It is under such circumstances that Monk is summoned to London to form a part of Cromwell's new House of Lords, which, ashamed and embarrassed at its own existence, timidly announced itself as the *other House*. Monk represents the necessity of his remaining in Scotland;† and whether or not Cromwell had the intention of withdrawing him from thence, he yields to his arguments, and Monk remains at Dalkeith, whence it was perhaps difficult to dislodge him, but whither it would have been easy not to send him back.

Meanwhile the rumours, which are the precursors of tempests, spread on all sides: the presentiment of another revolution fills all minds; the eyes of Europe are fixed upon England, and Monk is the object of all conjectures. Thurloe, the secretary of state, warns Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador in France, against the report that Monk has refused to obey the protector; and he assures Downing, the resident in Holland, of the falsity of the same rumour. Finally, Cromwell writes thus to Monk, in the postscript of a letter: "There be that tell me that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me;"—a joke doubtless destined to inform Monk that Cromwell was upon his guard.

The genius of one man was being wasted in maintaining his power, without succeeding in establishing it, when Cromwell died on the 3rd of September, 1658. The last breath of his influence lifted his son to the protectorate for a few days.

* Monk to Thurloe, June 13, 1658.

† Monk to Thurloe, January 9, 1658.

Monk did not refuse to join in this movement, but he took in it the position which befitted him; and the remonstrance which, when he recognized Richard Cromwell, he addressed to him by means of his brother-in-law, Dr. Clarges, is written in the tone of a man whose advice must be listened to. In his opinion, Richard can be securely established only by means of the Presbyterian party, which he (Monk) regards as the national party; and in doing this, Richard will have more facilities than his father, "having not the same obligations to many disquieted spirits." He recommends the new authority to establish unity of religion in essential points, and liberty in all those which are not essential; he insists upon the necessity of reducing the army, and withdrawing all fanatical sectaries from it—a measure which would be unattended by danger, whatever might be said about it; for "there is not," he writes, "an officer in the army, upon any discontent, that has interest enough to draw two men after him, if he be out of place." Finally, he recommends Richard, when he convokes a parliament, to introduce into his House of Lords all the old nobility upon whom he can reckon, and some of the influential gentlemen of the different counties, amongst whom he mentions Sir George Booth.

The new protector was proclaimed at Edinburgh, coldly, and with the indifference attaching to an insignificant ceremony. People there felt themselves out of the reach of the power which was then endeavouring to establish itself in England, and without any interest in its destinies. "Why not rather old George?" said the soldiers and subalterns: "he would be fitter for a protector than Dick Cromwell." After this act of adhesion, Monk, sheltered from the storms which were gathering at a distance, resolved to await the moment when the safest course should present itself to him, and meanwhile not to adopt or reject either.

Richard was in want of money; to obtain it, it was necessary to assemble a parliament. It was filled, as much as possible, with the creatures of Cromwell. But a parliament, of whatever kind, was incompatible with the government of the army, the sole support of the protectoral power: and the republican party, the only one which then dared to stir, had entered into the House of Commons in sufficiently large numbers to hamper at least the measures of the protector and his court. Richard liked neither the republicans, who were

troublesome to an authority which he little cared to exercise, but which he wished to possess at his ease, nor the fanatical Independents, who formed the active portion of the army, and whose enthusiasm was repugnant to his natural good sense and the levity of his disposition. The army was soon almost as discontented with Richard Cromwell as with the parliaments; and its principal leaders, with Lambert and Fleetwood at their head, met at Wallingford House, and consulted together as to how they could undo what they had done. To these revolutionary soldiers, no task could have been less difficult; for they only needed to substitute a phantom of a government in the place of the phantom they had driven away. The Long parliament, or at least that remnant of the Long parliament which has since been called the *Rump*, offered itself, and was accepted. Already reduced, by various exclusions, to a number far inferior to that of which i was originally composed, it had finally, in the year 1648, and under the influence of Cromwell, been *purged*, by the army, of all the Presbyterian party. Out of seventy-eight members who remained present after the purification had taken place, twenty-eight had retired, protesting against the violence; and the fifty or sixty members who remained at Westminster, had sanctioned the measures of the army, and alone formed the parliament during the six weeks which preceded the death of the king.

After this act, and when the republic had once been proclaimed, several of those who had withdrawn in disgust or fear, had successively returned to their seats, and a house of between one hundred and sixty and one hundred and eighty members had been reconstituted, and was almost exclusively occupied in perpetuating itself in power, by virtue of the bill which, in 1640, had declared that this parliament could not be dissolved except by its own consent. Tired of fruitlessly demanding its dissolution, Cromwell, who wished to reign in his turn, had forcibly ejected the members on the 19th of April, 1653, entering, himself, into their place of assemblage at the head of his troops. Thus violated, but not dissolved, the *Rump* had remained, in its own opinion, the only legal parliament of England; and formed in the country a small faction of fanatical egotists, more important from their passionate activity than from their reputation or talents. Some distinguished men, however, were to be met with among their

ranks; Sir Harry Vane, for example, a man of vast but chimerical mind, who remained among them because he found elsewhere neither room nor instruments for his ideas and plans; and Ludlow, a clever man of business, rather than an enlightened politician, and too honest a man ever to resign himself to the belief that he had done anything against his conscience. But the true representatives of the party were Sir Arthur Haslerig, a rapacious, headstrong, and conceited agitator; Scott, almost as vain, and even more obstinate and blind; and some others, the dupes of their interest as much as of their faith, always ready to govern whenever they were permitted to do so, and uniting to fondness for power and fanaticism of opinions, the absurdity of impotence and the infatuation of pretended legitimacy.

It was to this assembly, only forty-two members of which were in London, that, on the 7th of May, 1659, the army resolved to intrust the government, which it did not know how else to dispose of. After Richard had been compelled to dissolve his parliament, the *Rump* was re-installed, and with it the good old cause, that is, the republic, of which the *Rump* was declared the only true support; "for," it was said, "it had been ever favoured in this work with the special presence of God, and with his signal blessing." Richard yielded to his fall without resistance, and without any one making an attempt to save him. Some time before, his friends had offered Monk 20,000*l.* a-year, if he would take up his cause. Monk allowed them to hope everything, but gave no pledge, and answered, "The said revenue will do Richard more good than my sticking to him."* When Richard fell, Monk received the news with his usual tranquillity; congratulated the new authorities, entertained the advances of Fleetwood and Lambert, and the assurances of favour from the

* Manuscript Journal of Sir Edward Montague, afterwards Lord Sandwich; Harris, Life of Charles II., p. 194, note. A year after this, upon the eve of the return of Charles II., Richard Cromwell again addressed himself to Monk, in the distress of his private life, begging him to obtain, from the royalist convention then about to meet, the payment of his debts. The letter which Richard wrote to Monk on this subject on the 18th of April, 1660, will be found among the documents inserted at the end of this volume. I am indebted for this curious and hitherto unpublished document to the kindness of my learned friend, Dr. Travers Twiss, who obligingly copied it for me from the original, contained among the archives of Admiral Popham's family, at Littlecott Castle.

Rump, which however would continue, as Cromwell had done, to deprive of their employments in the army of Scotland, those officers who were most devoted to their general. Monk remonstrated; and meanwhile, by the consent of the parliament itself, retained his officers in their commissions until the arrival of those who were to replace them, but who never arrived.

Matters were, however, rapidly proceeding towards a crisis: the time for decision was at hand, and the circumspection of Monk himself was near allowing itself to be taken by surprise. The greater number of the counties of England were preparing to support Sir George Booth, who, at the head of the Presbyterian party, had taken up arms in Cheshire on the 1st of August, 1659, apparently to obtain the election of a free parliament, or at least the restoration of the parliament in its integrity, by the re-admission of the members whom Cromwell had excluded. The royalists were not to appear at all; but the leaders of the two parties were acting in concert; and among the agents there were very few whose illusion was not the fruit of great complacency in allowing themselves to be deceived. The eyes of both parties were turned towards Monk, as the man they needed; around him different interests were in agitation, striving to shake his apparent immoveableness. Even in his private circle, either by chance or skill, the different parties had their representatives: Price, the general's chaplain, a royalist and Anglican at heart, his intermediary with the Scottish cavaliers, and who, though daily urging him to aid the good cause, took care never to utter the words *king* and *kingdom;* Gumble, another chaplain, of Presbyterian opinions, but a man of talent and intrigue, Monk's principal agent, and devoted to all his projects; and lastly, Monk's wife, an ardent Presbyterian, and as much attached to the king as she was opposed to episcopacy. Possessed of a liberty of speech of which it would have been difficult to deprive her, she forced her husband to listen to what others would not have dared to say to him, and by her impetuosity accelerated the rather tardy progression of his circumspect character. Others also, in their different degrees, attempted to learn his views, and act accordingly; some secretly, others more openly; and in the midst of them all, the general, calm, taciturn, and too good-tempered to be displeased at what he was determined not to understand, quieted

and contented each in particular, by some concession to the views of his interrogator, or by some half-confidence intended as much to conceal what he did not say, as to insinuate what he wished to have believed. Every one had his distinct part to play, and, on some given occasion, each might consider himself the nominal confidant; "that is," to use the language of Price, "him who had the post of first dupe to the general." Beyond this intimate circle, exposed to the efforts or curiosity of all those who sought to gain him over or to learn his views, Monk's taciturnity provided him with a rampart which he seldom allowed to be forced. But his very silence was significant, and he made use of it to maintain at once both reserve and confidence. As soon as an appearance of insinuation, or the utterance of a few preliminary ideas, announced the intention of introducing an overture, Monk, with an air of profound attention, gave scarcely any answers, offered still less opposition, opened no field for discussion, and no channel for indiscretion; after having exhausted the first attack, it was unavoidable to drop the subject; and each went away persuaded that he had either shaken his resolution, or found him in a favourable mood, but without having received the least encouragement to venture upon using more explicit language.

Meanwhile, in proportion as the decisive moment advanced, and circumstances became pressing, the object of these attacks also became more evident, and Monk found it necessary to contrive to repel without preventing them, or to inspire hopes without giving pledges. Persuaded that Sir George Booth's insurrection must decide everything, Charles Stuart and his partisans redoubled their efforts to insure its success. Sir Stephen Fox arrived, bearing a letter in which Charles besought Monk to march with his army against the parliament. Monk received it coldly, making no promises, and giving no answer; but he allowed the messenger full liberty to return. This was saying that he did not refuse to receive such messages. Colonel Atkins, deputed by the Presbyterians to urge him to support the insurrection which was about to break out in the north of England, pressed him as to what they might expect from him. "I shall send a force against them," bluntly replied the general; "by the duty of my place, I can do no less:" and Price, his chaplain, when interrogated in his turn by Atkins, seemed to think that there

was nothing to be done, "unless," he added, carelessly, "the city of London would rise, and shut up its gates."

At length a direct negociator arrived, charged with positive proposals. Sir John Greenville, nephew of Sir Richard, and one of the most active cavaliers in the king's service, had carefully kept up a close connexion with his relative, Nicholas Monk, brother to the general; and had presented him to a valuable living in his gift, in the county of Cornwall. Sir John had, moreover, induced the king to send him with more extensive powers to treat with Monk, and endeavour to make him join the royal cause. At the moment of Sir George Booth's insurrection, he sent off the clergyman to Dalkeith, charged with his instructions, and the promises of the king.

Nicholas Monk arrived at Dalkeith in the month of August, 1659, two days after the visit of Colonel Atkins, and found his brother disposed to listen to his proposals. Monk feared and expected little from those ephemeral governments which were already falling to pieces, one after the other, in London; the parties of Richard Cromwell, Haslerig, and Lambert, might agitate around him, without affecting him; he was more securely established than any of them. As for the Presbyterians, even supposing that they obtained the upper hand, they could never be so strong as that Monk would not always be sure of treating with them upon whatever terms he pleased. But this was not the case as regarded the royalists, towards whom the chances of the future were beginning to incline. All the other parties had tried their hand at government; and all, alternately powerful and overthrown, had exposed the secret of their errors, violence, and weakness. Royalty alone, for twenty years, had not been put to the test; it alone had yet to make promises which had not been already broken; good was expected from it, because it had not recently inflicted any evil; and finally, the nation returned to it, after so many years of agitation, as a son returns to the paternal roof, which he left in hope, but returns to in fatigue. The restoration of the Stuarts was then the hope and desire of that numerous but nameless class of the people, who, except in a few moments of excitement, generally long after political repose, that they may devote themselves uninterruptedly to the affairs of civil life. The desires of the multitude are rarely restrained by foresight; and if, when taking up the royal cause, the Presbyterians wished to

prevent its triumphing without conditions and guarantees, there was reason to expect that they would not succeed in thus measuring success at their will, and that, when they had opened the door to the king, the people, having only to choose between them and him, would not leave them time to settle the price of their victory.

Monk could not but believe that such would be the course of events, and rejoice at it. Caring little for the rights or necessities of liberty, but greatly injured by the inconveniences of anarchy, he never considered either the nature or the exact limits of power, whether he exercised or obeyed it. He believed that a country was quite happy enough when it was quiet, and under government; and he knew very well, as far as he was himself concerned, that the fortune of the servant depends upon the power of the master. He was in a position to become the most useful and best recompensed servant of Charles Stuart; and it therefore was to his advantage to treat singly and directly with the king, with the sole intention of properly establishing his own personal position, and leaving others to contend for the interests of the country. His foresight had always made him secretly favourable to the royalists; and as soon as they addressed themselves to him with any hope of success, they must have been promptly received. Monk never treated frankly with any but them; and during his progress towards the restoration of the monarchy, one single sentiment is conspicuous and predominant—the desire to withdraw that great event from every other influence than his own, in order that he might deliver it, complete and unshackled, into the hands of the prince from whom he was to receive its price.

But, in the state of affairs in 1659, the assistance of the Presbyterians was the most useful which the cunning general could call in to his aid; and consequently, while entertaining the communications of his brother, he appeared specially influenced by the Presbyterian standard of Booth's insurrection, and by the certainty of Fairfax's co-operation. When his resolution was once taken, he began to appear undecided to those by whom he was surrounded; while he was making promises on one side, he pointed out difficulties on the other, in his usual manner, without expressing his opinion on the manner of surmounting them. He confided to each that which he intended each to know or believe of his plans;

needed solicitation to undertake what he had resolved upon doing; examined the state of his exchequer; and finally, directed his agents to sound the feelings of his troops, and learn to what degree they might be irritated against a government imposed on them by the army in England. The soldiers were found less angry than uncertain about their position, and depending entirely upon their general. "Why will not old George do something?" they asked; "it is not in our power." But at the idea of putting themselves in motion under his orders, they grew animated, and manifested their readiness to follow him; "for," said they, "we may march safely behind George Monk."

Thus assured of his means, Monk thought that there was no more time to be lost. Sir George Booth, at the head of the county of Cheshire, was on the point of coming to an engagement with the parliamentary army, under the command of Lambert; the other counties were about to rise; and he must not be among the last. It was now Saturday evening;* the night was spent in drawing up a letter to the parliament, in which, with all due forms of respect, and even of praise, the army declared against the perpetuity of power which it seemed to arrogate to itself; not being able in conscience, as they said, to consent that so much blood had been shed, merely to place the sovereignty in the hands of a few men. They therefore demanded that, conformably with its promises, the parliament should complete itself, and regulate the mode of election and convocation of the parliaments destined to succeed it; and, in conclusion, announced their intention of maintaining their demand by arms. This letter was to be presented, on Monday, for the signature of the principal officers; and it was intended at the same time to take possession of the castle of Edinburgh and the citadel of Leith. All was ready on Sunday evening; at one o'clock in the morning, Monk, still in the room in which the oaths of secrecy had been taken, and the last conferences held, gives orders to his aide-de-camp, Smith, to get ready to take his

* We have ascertained, by comparing the days of the week and the dates of the events in the month of August, 1659, that this Saturday must have been Saturday, August 23rd. Sir George Booth was defeated by Lambert, on the 18th and 19th of August, at Winnington and Nantwich. This news would not be known at Dalkeith on the 23rd, but would reach that place by Monday the 25th of August.

orders to the commanders at Leith and the castle of Edinburgh, of whom he was sure; and then goes down to give audience to other agents already in motion on all sides. But a moment afterwards, he returns: "Smith," he says, "will not set out yet; Booth and Lambert are on the brink of an engagement; to-morrow is the post-day; we shall know how things stand, what is Booth's force, and how far we may hope to secure his success by our help. The delay of one day cannot do much harm. We will wait." These words fell like an icy shower in the midst of men already intoxicated with hope, and ready to enter upon action; but they must obey, they must even be silent. However, the general having again left the room, his chaplain, Price, the most ardent of all, followed him, to try and shake his resolution; he found him in conference with a Scotchman of Montrose's party, and did not thence augur ill for the success of the efforts he was about to make. Monk came to him; but scarcely had Price opened his mouth, when his patron, who never grew angry except when persons wished him to go faster than he intended, exclaimed in a passion, "Would you have me ruin all, then, and bring my neck to the block, for love of the king?" "Sir, I have never named the king to you, either now or at any other time," replied the chaplain, in a submissive tone. "Well, I know you have not; but I know you, and have understood your meaning." This was the general's first declaration to Price. At six o'clock the next morning, a courier brought the news of Sir George Booth's complete defeat. The conspirators shuddered at the danger they had run. "What would have become of us," Price one day asked of Monk, "if the tidings of Booth's defeat had arrived a day too late?" "I doubt not but I should have secured to myself the castle of Edinburgh and citadel of Leith," replied the general; "some officers and many soldiers would have followed me; and then I would have commissioned the whole Scottish nation to rise." Slow to involve himself in peril, he never entered upon any undertaking without having made up his mind to brave every risk.

No sooner had the news of Lambert's victory become known, than numbers flocked from all quarters to Dalkeith; and at dinner the general's table was crowded by officers, Independents, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, whose gaiety and imagination were excited by this triumph over their

principal enemies, the Presbyterians. The general joined freely in their mirth, and having more to conceal, spoke with greater openness. Some one having spoken of the project which the insurgents certainly entertained of restoring Charles Stuart, "My opinion is," said Monk, without looking at his chaplain, "that the parliament should make a law, that whoever should but mention the restoring of him, should presently be hanged." The discussion hereupon grew animated; and one Captain Poole declared that the nation would never enjoy peace and quietness so long as there was either a priest or a steeple left. At these words the old general rose, and in a tone to which they were not accustomed, said, "Fair and softly, Captain Poole; if you and your party once come to pluck there, I will pluck with you." A respectful silence immediately ensued, and whatever distrust might have been felt of the intentions of the general, all at least understood that he did not consider himself vanquished.

His position, however, might become dangerous. By whatever pretexts Nicholas Monk had taken care to explain his journey, it had excited suspicion; and the honest clergyman, assailed by questioners on all sides, had not been adroit enough to escape from their hands. Monk, informed of some indiscretions, reproached his brother with them, exacted from him a new oath that he would not communicate to any one, not even to Sir John Greenville, what had passed between them; adding, with unfeigned anger, that if a single word transpired by either one or the other, he would leave no means untried to ruin them both. Then, advising his brother never again to meddle with intrigue, so ill becoming his sacred profession, he appeared so disgusted with the whole affair, that Nicholas, on his return, assured Sir John Greenville that, for the present at least, it was useless to make any further attempt.

For a moment, in fact, Monk seemed to believe that the royal cause was irretrievably lost; and, either to free the parliament from all distrust, or to make known his intentions, or rather because, yielding to his natural bias in favour of the strongest party, he really wished to retire, he determined, in opposition to the advice of all his friends, to send in his resignation. And, on the 3rd of September, 1659, he wrote to the parliament that, feeling the approach of the infirmities of old age, he desired to be discharged from all his duties,

that he might quietly end his days at home. He took care not to send his letter by means of his brother-in-law, Clarges, a physician by profession, but recently appointed an army commissary, and almost always intrusted with the general's secret business in London—a trust of which he acquitted himself with boldness and address. Monk knew very well that Clarges would disapprove of his step, and was much afraid of his influence, which he exercised, according to all appearance, by the imperious agency of Mrs. Monk. But his own brother, Nicholas Monk, informed of the arrival of the letter, succeeded in getting possession of it, and gave it to Clarges, who in his turn carried it to Lenthall, who was still speaker of the parliament.

Two principal parties were at that time contending at Westminster; that of Lambert and the army, with which were connected those men who, like Vane, thought their situation was desperate, and did not fear to apply the most violent remedies; and that of the moderate men of all classes, and the blind apostles of the legitimacy of the *Rump*, who, seeing that they had most to fear from the army, directed all their efforts against it. Lenthall was one of this latter party, all whose hopes centred upon Monk, as the only champion who could be opposed to Lambert; and Clarges easily persuaded him to make no mention of Monk's resignation, for fear lest the party of the army should hasten to profit by it, and send out his successor. Lenthall and his friends, in fact, eluded all the questions of Vane, who, having got wind of Monk's letter, on several occasions demanded that it should be read; but, before ten days had elapsed, Clarges received orders from the general to withdraw it.

Whatever may have been the motives and means employed to bring Monk to this resolution, as soon as he had afresh incurred danger, he set to work that he might place himself in a position to face it. He applied himself to sounding, more closely than he had hitherto done, the dispositions of all the officers in his army, and opened a correspondence with Fairfax, from whom he had received overtures at the time of Sir George Booth's insurrection. Clarges was directed to assure the principal members of the parliament that they would have the support of the general of the Scottish army against the projects of the English army, whose insolence had not been long in manifesting itself. At the same time, trust-

worthy agents, unknown to one another, informed Monk of the state of London, and of the progress of the misunderstanding between the two parties. Anonymous letters, or letters signed with false names, were despatched to increase animosities or to thwart plans, by revealing to one party what it had been possible to learn of the intentions of the other. The quarrel grew warmer every day. "I see now that I shall have a better game to play than I had before," said Monk; "I know Lambert so well, that I am sure he will not let those people at Westminster sit till Christmas Day." In fact, on the 13th of October, 1659, the avenues of Westminster were occupied by troops; the *Rump* was compelled to abdicate its power; Lambert and his adherents constituted themselves a government, under the name of the Committee of Safety, and Fleetwood figured at their head. This news arrived at Dalkeith on the 17th; all was ready, and all was set in motion. After reading his despatches, Monk declared to those of his officers who were around him, his resolution to support the parliament—stopped all the letters to London—and immediately summoned to Dalkeith the officers of the garrisons of Edinburgh and Leith; and, having assured himself of their co-operation, marched the next day to Edinburgh at the head of his guards. Two regiments were quartered in the town; he cashiered those officers who he knew were opposed to his design, arrested those whom he most distrusted; and, having assembled the troops, declared to them, in a firm and animated tone, the reasons for his determination. "The army in England," said he, "has broken up the parliament. Incapable of rest, it is determined to invade all authority, and will not suffer the nation to arrive at a lasting settlement. Its insolent extravagance will presently rise so as to grasp at the command of the army in Scotland, which is neither subordinate nor inferior. For my own part, I think it the duty of my place to keep the military power in obedience to the civil. It is the duty of us all to defend the parliament, from which you receive your pay and commissions. I rely, therefore, on your obedience. If, however, any one of you dissents from this resolution, he shall have full liberty to quit the service, and receive his pass."

This speech was received with the liveliest acclamations by the soldiers, to which were added the cheers of the Scotch, rendered happy by the hope of liberty which the dissensions

of their masters afforded them. During the night, Captain Johnson set off, with a detachment of cavalry, to assist the commandant of Berwick, of whom Monk was sure, in getting rid of the officers of his garrison, who were all Anabaptists and Independents; they were arrested and superseded. At the very moment when Johnson had completed his operation, Colonel Cobbett entered Berwick for the purpose of securing the town in the name of the army of England and its leaders. Cobbett was arrested, and conducted to Edinburgh castle. The same step had been taken at Ayr and St. Johnstoun, but with less difficulty, because the dissidents there were fewer in number. Newcastle was lost; for Colonel Lilburne, who happened to be at York, had taken possession of it on behalf of the Committee of Safety. In the distant garrisons, the commandants of Monk's party were directed to perform the above operation immediately; those who were suspected received orders to proceed to Dalkeith, to confer with the general upon affairs of importance; and hardly had they left their fortresses before they were arrested by agents posted on their route, and forthwith conducted to prison in Edinburgh. At the same time, Monk wrote to Lenthall, the speaker of the parliament, to Fleetwood, and to Lambert, to announce the resolution taken by the army in Scotland to defend against violence the laws and liberties of England. Several of his officers had demanded that, before they drew their swords and were exposed to shed the blood of their brethren in England, an attempt should be made to reclaim them by at least some warning. Monk was not in a position to refuse such a demand; and besides, was not afraid of allowing time to pass, which he was sure of employing better than his adversaries. He had no desire or intention to come to an engagement with the English army; he had witnessed a civil war, and was aware of its chances; and no man ever was more careful than himself to avoid chances, until he perceived that the safest course was to encounter them. With the habits and profession of a soldier, he was a man of business, and loved peace. Among the predictions which had long ago marked him out as the restorer of the monarchy, he used to relate that of an old Earl of Nithsdale who had come to see him, to tell him that the king would be restored before many months had elapsed; that he, Monk, would be the principal instrument of this revolution, and that not even a finger

would be cut in the affair. "In that case," Monk added, gaily, "I am assured of my share in it." Besides, although he set little value on Lambert's military talents, he was not strong enough to engage him with an equal force. On the standard which he had just raised, he inscribed two principles, which he was careful to indite with great precision, that they might on all occasions furnish him with an answer:—"The government cannot stand without the entire subjection of the military to the civil power."—"The commonwealth must be administered by parliament." These were the two civil truths which he undertook to render triumphant by the aid of an army of which he had made himself master only by banishing from its ranks every man disposed to act in virtue of a political idea, and by reducing it to a purely military spirit and interest.

It was easy to foresee that such soldiers would agree better with other soldiers than with a parliament; and it was impossible to doubt that when in presence of Lambert's army, one-half, at least, of Monk's forces would go over to the side on which it would recognize its own cause. Monk had therefore resolved to keep them constantly at a distance from each other, and to let time do what it necessarily would effect. Well informed of what was passing among his enemies, he knew that Lambert's army, much more numerous than his own, but destitute alike of order and money, would soon be forced to disband. The parliament, when it saw that its fall was inevitable, had striven to deprive its oppressors of the power of profiting by it; and its last signs of life had been a prohibition to pay the taxes, the disorganization of the military authorities then in power, and the nomination of seven commissioners charged with the government of the army, among whom they had taken care to include Monk, the faithful friend of the parliament, according to the assurances of Scott, one of the most ardent members of the republican party, but the complete dupe of Chaplain Gumble, with whom he had long kept up a correspondence. Of these two votes, the first, very willingly adopted by the English people, compelled Lambert to obtain the means of subsistence for his troops by the use of violent measures, which no one was now in a position to employ; and the second gave an appearance of legality to the arbitrary power exercised by Monk in the disposal of military employments, which, in the part he had taken, it was important for

him to retain. As for the payment and maintenance of his army, although he had not for a long while received any money from England, Monk, by his provident economy, had supplied himself with ample resources. The state of his exchequer even permitted him to order the payment of the arrears due to the officers whom he cashiered. But as, before they had received their money, their discontent was imprudent enough to break out in words and plans to debauch the soldiers, it was considered both just and advantageous to dismiss them unpaid; and, banished from Scotland under penalty of death, they went to swell the troops, and add to the embarrassment of Lambert.

In spite of all this purging, and of the material means of which he could dispose, Monk felt that his military authority was no longer sufficient to lead an army whose views he had been obliged to consult. It had become a political party, and it was necessary to give it the movements and interests of one. All the officers were assembled in a great council presided over by the general, and in which the affairs of the cause were discussed. There Monk, patient and imperturbable, allowed free course to the pretensions of subaltern wit, to the coarse distrust of ignorance, and to the diffuse language of the soldier raised from the ranks, and anxious to gain further distinction. All was listened to, and disposed of by the adroitness of some confidant, whose logic easily confuted his unskilful antagonists. Monk spoke but little, except when it was necessary to give the authority of his assent to the opinion of which he approved; and, almost without making his influence felt, he governed the resolutions of an assembly destined to serve as his instrument. At the same time, intelligent non-commissioned officers, carefully instructed in the ideas which they were to disseminate or destroy, in the opinions they were to ascertain, and the sentiments they were to encourage, applied themselves to gain the confidence of the soldiers; and, actuated by promises of promotion, zealously seconded the designs of their general. A weekly gazette, and occasionally flying tracts, artfully drawn up, were diffused, read, and commented upon in the mess-rooms. On all sides began to be displayed that activity of mind, and importance of individual opinions, which, though alarming to unskilful authority, are powerful though inconvenient instruments in the hands of all who can wield them.

One regiment, abandoned by its officers, threatened to desert if not allowed to choose those who were to replace them: means were first found to limit the pretensions of the soldiers to the choice of their subaltern officers, and then to prevent their coming to an agreement, and oblige them to have recourse to the wisdom of their superiors. The whole of this interior and concealed government was carried on by a certain number of officers who were devoted to Monk, and allied to his plans. At the head of the intrigues and internal affairs of the party was Chaplain Gumble, ever active, persuasive, full of invention, and almost the only agent to be seen. "George Monk would not have stirred without that man," angrily remarked the agents of the opposite party. To these subterraneous intrigues were added public declarations: Monk's letters to Fleetwood, Lambert, and Lenthall, were printed and distributed at Edinburgh, as well as a declaration of the great council of officers to this effect: "That they had taken up arms to defend the freedom and privilege of parliaments, and to vindicate the rights and liberties of the people against all opposition whatever." The arrival of these letters in London had excited a deep feeling of joy in the public mind, and occasioned great surprise to those officers who were in possession of power. Imprudent and thoughtless, they had never once doubted but that the whole of the army in Scotland would acknowledge their government; and Colonel Cobbett, whom Monk had just arrested at Berwick, had been sent thither to ascertain the feelings of the troops, and if it were necessary, to secure the person of the general. It is even related, that on a certain post-day, one of Monk's guards, walking along the Edinburgh road, met the courier, who, instead of calling first at Dalkeith, according to his usual custom, was going direct to the town. Indignant at this want of respect, the soldier brought him, in spite of his resistance, to the general, who at once took possession of all the letters, and found among them an order for his own arrest, addressed by the Committee of Safety to an officer of his army, who was immediately to take the command in his place. But this circumstance, which will be found materially impossible, if we examine its various particulars, is moreover mentioned by neither of Monk's biographers, and appears to be one of those dramatic touches by which the human imagination delights to embellish great events.

Whatever may have been the intentions of Lambert and his party with regard to Monk, they had feared his rivalry, but not his patriotism, and they quickly perceived the discredit into which the cause he had embraced would throw their own. Besides they learned at the same time as his resolution the measures already taken to support it; and the officer charged with Monk's despatches had augmented their fears by betraying what he knew or suspected of his general's secrets. Undeceived as to the vain idea of their power over the army in Scotland, the leaders of the English army suddenly beheld the appearance of a force ready to attack them before they had dreamt of suspecting its existence. They resolved to attempt an accommodation, were it only to gain time for putting themselves in a position of defence; and whilst Lambert, appointed general of the troops in the North, was marching at their head towards Newcastle, Dr. Clarges, and Talbot, one of the colonels of Monk's army, who happened to be just then in London, were sent to explain what was called a misunderstanding, and to propose negociations.

Nothing could have been more favourable to Monk's plans. He had just failed in his attempts to draw over the army in Ireland to his side, and had reason to fear that it would declare against him. His efforts had not been more successful in the fleet; and Overton, the governor of Hull, as well as some other commandants of fortresses in England, whose republican opinions seemed likely to array them on the side of the parliament, had shown themselves mistrustful of Monk's intentions, and had given no other answer to his overtures than an offer to use their influence to effect his reconciliation with the Committee of Safety. Thus reduced to his own resources, Monk nevertheless did not contemplate further hesitation. When he was engaged in action a singular sagacity in discerning the true state of affairs preserved him from all uncertainty regarding his immediate conduct. Solely occupied in accomplishing that which was required by his actual situation, he took a complete view of it, and allowed nothing to escape him which might compromise the future. He was one of those practical men in whom reflection does not precede experience, but whom experience gradually enlightens, and whose mind, though inaccessible to every truth which does not come under their notice in a tangible form, yet recognizes and seizes it as soon as it assumes in their eyes a place in the

affairs and interests of this world. Incapable perhaps of forming a complete preconception of himself, Monk never failed himself in any emergency; his mind, rather penetrating than vast, and more firm than enterprising, could not embrace the entire scope of a great project while it was yet unprepared for execution; his placid character was little exposed to the temptations of rash enterprise; but boldness, when occasion required it, was as familiar to him as prudence; and when, after advancing step by step, he arrived at one of those dangerous passages where it became necessary that great resolution should suddenly surmount great obstacles, his quick and sure good sense proceeded straight towards the difficulty, of whatever magnitude it might be; and the boldest course became to him the simplest as soon as he perceived it was the most advantageous.

At this period his position compelled him at once to act and to temporize. He paid great attention to the envoys of the London Committee. Talbot effected no change in his plans, and Clarges only endeavoured to promote them. The officers, being consulted on the message, agreed to a proposition to appoint three commissioners to treat with their brethren of the army in England. The choice of these was left to the general, who nominated two, and allowed the officers to elect the third. They named Colonel Wilks, a not very trustworthy agent, and whose fidelity was perhaps the more shaken by his discontent at not having been chosen first. The negociators set out at the commencement of November, 1659, charged with the public instructions of the council, and the secret orders of the general. The principal point was to gain time, and not to conclude any arrangement, except at the last extremity, and then only upon condition of the restoration of the old parliament. If they could not obtain this, they were at least to require that a new parliament, freely elected, should be convoked forthwith. But as the committee of officers in London would necessarily prefer the convocation of a new parliament to the restoration of the one they had ejected, the commissioners were ordered to keep them in ignorance of their power to consent to it, until the time when a longer resistance might compromise the popularity of their mission. They were finally charged to ascertain what assistance might be expected from the opinion of the city of London, which had already declared in favour of Monk's plans, and to regulate their conduct accordingly.

Whilst Monk's envoys were proceeding to London, and Lambert was marching upon Newcastle, other negociations and other intrigues were following their course. Fleetwood, already alarmed at Lambert's ambition, was seeking to secure to himself some private resource on Monk's side, and sent to him, on his own account, Dean, one of the treasurers of the army. But at the same time he declared to the Common Council of the city that it was Monk's intention to restore the king by warlike means; and Dean, less anxious to gain the general than to alienate his army, openly made mention, even at Monk's table, of the royalist projects imputed to him; and strove by his speeches, and by widely-diffused tracts, to seduce or alarm the soldiers. One day, when passing in front of a company of infantry, "My lord Lambert," he said, "is coming upon you; and all Monk's army will not be enough for a breakfast for him." "Lambert must have a very good stomach this cold weather," replied a soldier, "if he can eat pikes and swallow bullets."

Lambert attempted, like Fleetwood, and by the same means, to make his own private arrangement. He tried to persuade Monk's commissioners, who were obliged to pass through his army, that he had power to treat with them; but as they insisted on repairing to London, unless Lambert would consent to restore the parliament, he allowed them to continue their journey, after having agreed with them upon a suspension of hostilities as long as the negociations lasted; and he intrusted the management of his private interests to Morgan, a major-general of Monk's army, whom he had found at York, where Morgan, detained by the effects of a violent attack of gout, and in the midst of Lambert's army, declared himself vehemently against the plans of his general. As soon as his health permitted, Morgan set out for Edinburgh, directed, as the rest had been, to try his influence over the general, but even more to employ his credit in the army against him. On the other hand, some congregations of Independents and other sectaries, moved by the declarations of Monk, and the care which he took to re-assure them, had thought it their duty to present him with their thanks; but others, more prudent or more suspicious, had distrusted the intentions of a man so little advanced in the ways of the Lord. Three ministers and two colonels arrived in their name at Edinburgh,—the men of peace to speak of an accommodation,—the colonels to tamper

with the soldiers, and lead them to desert to Lambert's army. At the same time Fairfax informed Monk that he and his adherents in the county of York, who had been ready to rise ever since Sir George Booth's insurrection, were willing to join their forces to his, if, instead of constituting himself the protector of a phantom parliament, he would declare himself for the re-admission of the members excluded by Cromwell and the army, or for the convocation of a new parliament. This latter proposition made peace far too easy to please Monk; and the other could not yet be even hinted to his troops without danger. The envoy from Fairfax was made to understand the necessity for further patience; the ministers and colonels were dismissed after some sharp words and many pacific demonstrations; and Morgan, as soon as he found himself beyond the reach of Lambert, became, in military affairs, the most important agent of the designs of Monk, whose entire confidence he possessed.

All this movement of intrigue and seduction was not, however, entirely without result. Some alarm as to the ulterior projects of the general began to be felt, both in and out of the army, by men who, either from interest or opinion, were strongly opposed to the return of the Stuarts; and also by those timid spirits who are frightened by every idea of change. In the same proportion the hopes of the royalist party increased. Monk's confidants were besieged by questions; and even Monk had to defend himself against the indiscreet precipitancy of the Cavaliers, the suspicious watchfulness of their enemies, and the imprudence of his household. "Mr. Monk," his wife used to say, "is a Presbyterian, and my son Kit (he was then six years of age) is for the Long parliament and the good old cause;" and in the midst of the insults to which the cause which he cherished was exposed in the general's house, Chaplain Price could not always restrain the outbursts of his royalist anger. "I can be undone by none," Monk said to him one day, "but you and my wife." Several of those who had at first served him with zeal were not slow to abandon him now. His cavalry, already far from numerous, deserted him almost entirely; but the infantry only manifested firmer attachment, and Monk, after this movement of desertion, thought he could rely upon what remained.

A month had elapsed in preparations when he judged that the time was come to enter upon the campaign, and sustain

his declarations by some unequivocal measure. During the early part of November he had assembled at Edinburgh the principal nobility of Scotland, and the deputies of the boroughs and counties, had announced to them that he intended to march into England for the defence of the laws and liberty, and had asked them to support his plans, first by maintaining tranquillity in Scotland whilst he was occupied elsewhere, and, secondly, by handing over to him the arrear of the taxes necessary for the payment of his troops. The Scotch, unprovided with weapons, could do little to preserve public order; but they promised the money, and kept their word. To settle the other interests which they might have to discuss, they requested Monk to give them a second conference, which he fixed for the 13th of December, at Berwick. Finally, on the 18th of November, 1659, he gave orders to march, set out himself on the same day, with his staff, in advance of his army, and proceeded to Haddington, on the road to Berwick.

His commissioners had arrived in London on the 12th of November. They immediately found themselves artfully surrounded and persecuted by the caresses and advances of the officers of the army, and quite unable to communicate with any one, to receive a visit or a message from their friends, and almost to confer amongst themselves. Around them everything breathed strength and confidence; from a distance nothing reached them but terror and discouragement. From hour to hour the most disastrous news accumulated; one body after another of Monk's army had deserted; soon their general would be left alone, and out of a position to treat; and they would find themselves defenceless in the hands of their enemies. They were at a loss what to do. Wilks, having been deceived or gained over, led the others astray; and on the evening of the 15th of November a treaty of nine articles was signed, agreeing to the convocation of a new parliament, the displacement of the officers of the two armies, and some other analogous measures; that is to say, the ruin of Monk, of his party, and of his projects. And in order to prevent any change of mind, or to hasten the effect of their victory, the government of London, without waiting for the departure of the commissioners, sent two officers to carry to Monk with all diligence the articles which had been signed, and to request their ratification.

Monk was leaving the dinner-table, on the 18th of November,

when the two officers arrived at Haddington and presented him with the treaty. He read it, gave it for perusal to those who were present, and, according to his usual custom, without saying a word, retired immediately to his own room.

The next day he returned to Edinburgh. The news of the treaty had preceded him thither. The first consternation had already given way to anger; and the irritation was increasing. The sixth article of the treaty especially roused all interests against this imprudent transaction. It prescribed the nomination of a committee of fourteen officers, half of whom were to be chosen from each army, and who were to meet at Newcastle to decide upon the claims of the officers whom Monk had deprived of their commissions, or who had resigned since the 7th of October. Thus all the promotions obtained in Monk's army, in consequence of the purging it had undergone, were called in question. At the same time they must renounce all hope of returning into their native country, whither their imagination had already transported them; and instead of the long-promised participation in those advantages which the English army alone had enjoyed for such a length of time, they would have to return to their exile in Scotland, with its poverty, and wild and cheerless garrisons.

The reception-room was full of officers, on all whose countenances agitation was plainly visible. Monk was walking up and down in their midst, sombre, pensive, and without addressing a word to any one. Around him were heard murmurs of discontent; and all eyes followed his movements. Chaplain Gumble enters the hall; the general goes towards him, and asks him, "How now? What say you to this agreement?" "Truly, sir, I have not seen it; but I hear so well of it, that I am come to make a little request to you this morning." "What is that, I wonder?" "Even that you would sign me a pass to go into Holland; yonder is a ship at Leith that is ready to set sail." "What! will you now leave me?" "I know not how you may shift for yourself by your greatness, but be confident that they will never be at rest till they have torn you from your command; and what they will do with you then it concerns you to consider: but for my part, though I am a poor man, I will never put myself into their power, for I know it will not be for my safety." "Will you lay the blame upon me?" cried the general. "If the army will stick to me, I will stick to them." At these words a shout of satisfaction burst

forth on all sides; protestations and transports of joy succeeded to silence and consternation; serenity was restored to the countenance of the general, and the preparations for departure were completed with cheerful activity.

During the first moments of their exasperation, Monk's officers demanded that the commissioners who had been sent to London should be disavowed as traitors; but it was judged more prudent to take advantage of the treaty they had concluded, for the purpose of prolonging the negociation. Answer was made to the Committee of Safety that, although they had no objection to offer against any of the articles, yet, as several important ones had been omitted, the ratification of the treaty was delayed until new conferences should have taken place. To these they demanded that two new commissioners should be admitted, who, with the former envoys, and an equal number of English commissioners, should meet at Alnwick, or in any other place beyond the power of either army, in order to settle definitively the conditions of peace. The envoys of the Committee of Safety returned to London on the 20th of November with this message; and Monk intrusted the further management of the affair to the confidential committee which conducted all his political correspondence, and upon which he devolved the task of maintaining this paper war, as well as of drawing up such proclamations, protests, and declarations of principles, as he wished to be able to set aside or disavow, according to circumstances. His own commissioners soon returned from London, and made what excuses they could. Wilks, whose reasons were not deemed satisfactory, was arrested, but afterwards released. The refusal to ratify the treaty redoubled the fears of that little knot of politicians in London, whom the officers of the English army had thought it prudent to associate with themselves in their strange government. Too clear-sighted to allow themselves to be deceived by artifices intended only to dupe soldiers, they perceived with anxiety that they were becoming entangled in a net the meshes of which it was still easy to break. Vainly had they insisted that, from the very first, setting aside all delay, and, if necessary, all hope of negociation, Lambert's army should hasten to seize the moment favourable for victory. The heedless faction which then held the reins of government at London having gained its power by violent measures, thought it could dispense with all foresight, banished every unpleasant reflection, and

slumbered in the security of its triumph, until the moment when it was destined to awake and find itself deceived and conquered.

Monk marched towards Berwick at the head of six good regiments of infantry and four of cavalry, the latter incompletely equipped and badly mounted; in all six or seven thousand men, well paid, well disciplined, inured to labour, to fatigue, and to the severity of the Scottish climate. Lambert had at Newcastle eight or ten thousand men, well-mounted and well-equipped, but without money, and without discipline, accustomed to ease, and unused to war; many of them were well-disposed towards the expelled parliament, and unfavourable to the cause they were about to defend; while others were attached to Fleetwood's party, and felt little zeal in promoting the success of Lambert. The news of Monk's refusal to ratify the treaty produced upon them so injurious an effect that Lambert felt it imperatively necessary to hasten the negotiations, if possible; and on his arrival at Berwick, on the 6th of December, Monk was met by Colonel Zanchey, who came, on the part of the general of the English army, to press the nomination of the two new commissioners, and to demand that the treaty should at once be adopted, without waiting until the new articles should be added. Referred to Monk's committee of correspondence, Zanchey received from them nothing but a positive refusal to depart from their original resolutions; and the banter of some of the officers gave him to understand that there remained to him few means of influencing persons who no longer feared him enough to take the trouble to deceive him. During the afternoon, intelligence arrived that Lambert's dragoons, urged by want of money, had made an incursion into Northumberland, in the hope of getting possession of a considerable sum belonging to Lord Grey of Wark, but which had been prudently removed some days before. At the news of this violation of the truce, Zanchey was arrested, which caused the gain of a few more days, before an answer was returned to Lambert. On the 8th of December, Monk marched forward, and established his head-quarters on the banks of the Tweed, at Coldstream, a wretched position, which seemed for a moment to startle the courage of the chaplains, but which was more favourable than any other locality for fording the Tweed, and whither, in case of alarm, Monk could

in four hours muster all his troops, who were stationed in the neighbouring villages.

The crisis was now at hand: at Coldstream must be decided the question of victory or retreat. Careful to secure some support upon which he could fall back, Monk had not forgotten the promise he had made to meet the Scotch on the 13th of December, at Berwick. He found there a portion of the chief of the royalist nobility, who, full of zeal and hope, had come to request a supply of arms, and to offer such levies of men as the exigency of the cause might require; and who proposed at the outset to place under Monk's command six thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred horse. However useful such support might appear, Monk thought it even more dangerous. Scarcely had he, by admitting several English officers to the conferences held with the Scotch, succeeded in appeasing the disdainful discontent which they manifested at beholding subjects, whom they claimed to govern by right of conquest, interfere in their affairs: and the army had displayed great indignation because some Scots had been introduced into it, in order to complete the ranks. It was necessary carefully to avoid all causes of distrust; the Scotch were supplied with arms; but Monk declined their assistance, promising to have recourse to it in case of need; while, to compensate for this refusal, he took pains to inspire them with confidence in a future, which it was not difficult for them to foresee.

From hour to hour, so to speak, it became more necessary to Lambert and the London government to obtain a prompt decision—which it was the constant policy of Monk and his committee to avoid. A few days more, and from all quarters Monk would receive assistance, or promises, which, against a disheartened enemy, are perhaps of even more value than assistance. London was in a ferment; the members of the Long parliament had taken fresh courage; the city, though not very favourable to their pretensions, nevertheless united with them in opposing the government of the army. Informed of this state of feeling, Monk wrote to the Common Council, that, at the very first moment, he had addressed letters to it, as well as to all the other great bodies of the state, but that they must certainly have been intercepted. He was lavish in his protestations of devotion; and exhorted

the citizens of London to use every effort to free themselves from their servitude.

Delighted at his promises, they displayed a strong inclination to follow his advice. The garrisons of London and its neighbourhood did not highly estimate the honours of fraternity with a power which could not pay them; and began to regret the abolition of the power of the parliament which alone had been able to vote and enforce the payment of the taxes. The fleet, upon receiving more correct information, declared in favour of the parliament. The same party had prevailed in the army in Ireland. Fairfax, with whom Monk maintained a very active correspondence, by means of the ministers who transmitted news to each other from parish to parish, promised to be ready, in the early part of January, to fall upon the rear of Lambert's army. Finally, Colonel Wetham, governor of Portsmouth, and an old connection of Monk's, had willingly listened to the persuasions of Haslerig, Morley, and Walton, who begged him to unite in the efforts which Monk was making in their favour. In concert with them, the garrison of Portsmouth had unanimously proclaimed the parliament: and the troops sent by Fleetwood to besiege the town, had arrived under its walls only to declare the same views.

On hearing this last piece of news, Monk hastened to write to Lambert to inform him of his readiness to resume the negociations; but as Haslerig and the other parliamentarians, then masters of Portsmouth, had been of the number of the commissioners whom the parliament, just before its fall, had appointed to the government of the army, Monk, as their colleague, thought that he could not treat without their concurrence, and requested Lambert to send him a pass, that he might despatch a messenger to Portsmouth to obtain their instructions.

Lambert could not fail to perceive that he had been tricked: he grew angry, refused the passport, and understood that a treaty was now out of the question. But it was no longer a time for action. Snow, several feet in depth, covered the forty miles of precipitous country which separated Lambert from Monk and the Tweed; and he was obliged to abandon all hope of getting at his enemy until that not far distant period when his army would have exhausted its last

resources. But Lambert was destined soon to have not even a cause to support. The feeble hands of Fleetwood had not been able to retain the reins of government in London; and on the 25th of December, 1659, the *Rump*, accepting the submissive excuses of the humbled general, entered for the last time into possession of Westminster. Its first care was to direct that both armies should return to their quarters; and to vote the army of Scotland, as a mark of its approbation, chains and medals of gold.

The same messenger who brought to Monk the intelligence of the change which had just taken place in London, informed him that Fairfax had taken arms, having been forced to declare himself sooner than he intended through fear of being discovered and prevented. Monk did not hesitate about what course to take. To go to the assistance of Fairfax, now in danger of being attacked and overwhelmed by Lambert—to hasten to forestall by marching onwards, the official order to retreat, which they were determined not to obey—such was the unanimous movement of the Scottish army, which, during the last few days, had been wonderfully reinforced by the friends whom the aspect of affairs brought to it from all quarters. On the 1st of January, 1660, during a sharp frost, it crossed the Tweed, and joyfully set foot upon the soil of England. At Wooler, his first halting-place, Monk received a letter from Speaker Lenthall, informing him, in cold and constrained terms, of the restoration of the parliament, adding scarcely any thanks for his services, and not even inviting him to come to London. However, the same messenger took to Lambert orders to disband his troops, but brought no such directions to Monk. This was sufficient to inform Monk, that to the distrust with which he was regarded there was already added as much fear as it was necessary that he should inspire, in order to remain master. On the morning of the next day, Lenthall's letter was read at the head of each regiment. The soldiers, buried up to their knees in the snow, but consoled for the fatigues which awaited them by the hope of arriving at length at a resting-place, unanimously exclaimed that they would go to London to see the parliament assembled.

The impulse was given, and no further obstacle presented itself to arrest it. Lambert, on hearing of the restoration and vote of the parliament, had withdrawn by flight from the

danger of being left at the mercy of those whom he had offended. His troops had submitted and dispersed. Monk remained alone, and his army, having now no choice to make, returned to its dependence upon him. From this time forth, there was an end of general councils of officers, political assemblies, votes, and remonstrances. The most intelligent were able to perceive that Lambert's army was not the only one vanquished by recent events, but to submit was unavoidable; and Monk, restored to possession of his liberty, which had been infringed upon by all those liberties with which he was not accustomed to treat, could henceforward singly, or with the concurrence of a few confidants, more or less in the dark regarding his ulterior intentions, pursue that active, covert, and silent policy which suited at once his taste and his situation.

He had also contrived to escape the danger and importunity of family indiscretions. When his wife, without asking his sanction, came to join him at Coldstream, the general, who had now abandoned home duties to enter upon the activity of public life and the authority of a commander, sent her back with a rather severe reprimand to Berwick, whence he afterwards had her conveyed by sea to England. As for chaplain Price, as soon as ever Monk had determined upon the course he was to take, he had informed him: "I shall not employ you in this business; and be not discontented with it, for you know not these people as well as I do, and cannot dissemble with them." Price was struck, as he informs us himself, with the general's frankness, and from that moment kept himself aloof, contented with maintaining a careful watch, and hastening by a few solicitations the accomplishment of the tacit promises upon which he thought he could already reckon.

Relieved of his fears respecting Fairfax, Monk slackened his march, leaving to time to dispel the obscurities of his new situation, but without losing an instant in turning against the parliament those methods of cunning and activity which had rid him of Lambert's army. Always occupied by the enterprise of the moment, after he had finished in one quarter, he directed all his strength to enable him to triumph in the other. Gumble, despatched to London to examine into the state of affairs, and learn something about the men with whom the general would have to deal, conveyed to the *Rump*

the most solemn promises of his devotedness; and laid before it, as a pledge of his fidelity, a letter in which the Common Council of the city requested Monk to aid them in obtaining the re-admission of the members who had been excluded from the Long parliament, or the convocation of a free and complete parliament. The same wish, expressed all along his route by a multitude of addresses and felicitations, was met by the most humble protestations of obedience to the civil authority. Declarations against Charles Stuart and his family were multiplied daily, and were the stronger and more explicit, because, upon this point, men's hopes and suspicions began to be manifested more undisguisedly. Monk publicly caned, and probably with real anger, an officer who had said, "This Monk will at last bring back Charles Stuart." His language was in conformity with his actions, and was accompanied by such appearances of military frankness and heartfelt emotion that Price felt it necessary to obtain some new assurance, and crept one night into the room of his master, whom he found, during a brief interval of toil, asleep in his clothes upon two chairs, with his head resting upon the edge of his bed. The chaplain, in the ardour of his zeal, awoke him to express his fears. Monk, always equable, and always ready, re-assured him in words which were the more positive because they entailed no consequences, and conjured him to think nothing of all those engagements which it was impossible for him to decline, "for," said he, "they are distrustful enough of me already;" and Price, tranquillized once more by this proof of the sincerity of his general's intentions, quietly resumed his character of a mere spectator.

Although careful not to belie for an instant the respectful language he had used, Monk continued to advance without orders, or rather in opposition to the orders which the *Rump* had not had the courage to make known to him. His arrival was everywhere hailed by the ringing of bells, and the joyful shouts of the multitude, as he marched forward, receiving the homage and requests of a population eager to gain hopes from him, cashiering the officers of the regiments which he met, and replacing them by men devoted to his service. When he reached York, however, he thought it proper to wait for some indication of the intentions of the parliament. The county of Yorkshire, where predominated the influence of Fairfax

(then resolved to restore the monarchy which he had formerly overthrown, almost without intending it,) offered Monk an advantageous position, which he was unwilling to abandon, until he was sure of London. Fairfax even urged him to remain at York, and declare at once for the king. His officers were surrounded; some began to settle the price of their adhesion to the royal cause, and carried it so high that one of them, it is said, refused to have anything to do with them unless they promised to make him Lord Chancellor. But Monk never advanced openly when he could proceed as effectually in secret; and the chances of war in Yorkshire were not so good as those of armed intrigue, such as he intended to carry on in London, as soon as he had established his head-quarters there. Resolved to try his best to reach the metropolis without striking a blow, he had even provided for the case in which he might have finally received at York formal orders to retreat: he would then have had means of forcing the parliament to reflect upon its imprudence, and he intended to obey so slowly as to leave it time for so doing.

But already the unfortunate *Rump*, re-established only to be driven from suspicion to suspicion, possessed merely a choice of dangers; and Monk's presence in London appeared less alarming than the junction of his forces with those of Fairfax in Yorkshire. On the 6th of January, 1660, a vote was passed, requesting Monk to come to London "as speedily as he could." On the 12th, in consequence of the letters presented by Gumble, another vote was carried, approving of all that Monk had done up to that time. Finally, on the 16th, a tardy vote of thanks bestowed upon him a perpetual annuity of one thousand pounds sterling; and the Speaker was directed to write to him, that the House, impressed with a sense of his great services, would endeavour to provide for the payment of his soldiers, and was glad to learn that, "according to the desire of the parliament, he purposed to come to London." It was also voted that two parliamentary commissioners should be sent to meet him, to do him honour. Scott and Robinson, two of the most hot-headed of that infatuated party which was hurrying to its ruin through its precautions to avert it, were proposed for this mission by the Presbyterians, to whom they had become troublesome in Westminster, and accepted by the Independents as trust-

worthy and faithful spies, well qualified to inform them of the proceedings of the enemy.

Monk arrived at York on the 11th of January, and left it on the 16th, on his way to London, taking with him only four thousand infantry and eighteen hundred horse—an army sufficient to overawe, without exciting suspicion. To give positive proof of the purity of his designs, he sent back Morgan with two regiments of cavalry into Scotland; thus strengthening his party there, and ensuring his retreat in case of misfortune. Another regiment was left at York, under the command of Colonel Fairfax, a nephew of Sir Thomas, and one of the officers of the Scottish army, who, from the first, had co-operated most usefully with his general's measures. Careful not to be burdensome to the county of York, Monk had dispersed his troops in distant quarters; so that, when he arrived at Nottingham on the 19th of January, he was obliged to remain there for two days, to collect together his forces. There he found Dr. Clarges, and Gumble had rejoined him on the previous evening. Both brought him news of the state of London. Monk was loudly summoned thither by a portion of the people, and by the leading men of the city. Among the lower classes, a considerable party still preferred Lambert and the Independents; but the parliament was regarded by all with aversion and contempt. The troops quartered in London and its neighbourhood were hardly able to restrain the popular outbreaks, which were always ready to burst forth against it. The last resource of that government which they had overthrown two months before, these troops became once more the hope of some who were disposed, if their courage had not failed them, to throw themselves again into the arms of Lambert, that they might escape falling into the power of Monk.

It was necessary to deprive them of this last refuge. Some of the members of Monk's political committee—either because they did not yet suspect intentions which they continued to serve, or because they were desirous to obtain some assurance of them—proposed to cut short all distrust, by making the army sign an engagement to obey all that the parliament should command, except the restoration of Charles Stuart. This proposition was set aside out of respect to the parliament, and in order not to fall into the error committed by the English army, in presuming to prescribe laws to it. The

principle of submission to the civil authority was of the more service upon this occasion, because there was no time to admit of discussion. Scott and Robinson were to arrive the next day, and all freedom of conference would then be at an end. It was, therefore, necessary to be contented with a letter. Monk, much less scrupulous about his own engagements than about those which his army was wished to make, allowed them to write in his name to his fellow-countrymen, the gentry of Devonshire, to destroy, by arguments and protestations, the hopes which they were beginning to base upon him for the return of the king. The committee also employed itself, in its last moments, in drawing up a letter to demand that the troops then quartered in London should be dismissed, and those of Monk allowed the honour of guarding the parliament. But it was considered prudent not to despatch this letter until the approach of the army should render its prayer more efficacious.

Scott and Robinson arrived, in fact, on the next day. Orders had been given, and the highest honours awaited their advent. Monk spared none of those demonstrations of humility which befitted the most obsequious servant of the parliament; and his officers, who had been carefully instructed, and perhaps felt a malicious pleasure in thus duping their temporary masters, made such an overwhelming display of their homage and respect, that the commissioners, and especially Scott, intoxicated by their importance, took the greatest pains to extol, in their reports, the general's affection for the parliament, and the respectful discipline of his army. They did not, however, feel secure enough to neglect any precautions of the most minute and even most ignoble inspection. Until the last halting-place, close by London, they arranged so as always to lodge in the same house as the general, and were careful to discover or to contrive secretly in the walls and partitions some opening through which they might observe what was going on in his room. Alarmed and mortified at that unanimous concurrence of prayers which, from the Scottish frontiers to London, had unceasingly pronounced against the everlasting domination of the *Rump*, they angrily repelled even the slightest attack; so angrily, indeed, that Scott one day declared that, if it were proposed to re-admit the excluded members, or to convoke a new parliament, he, old as he was, would take arms, and defend the

doors of the house by open force against the intruders. Thus losing by their ill-temper any advantage that might otherwise have accrued from their importunate assiduity, they freed Monk from the greatest inconvenience of their presence; and by their impetuosity in seizing every opportunity for making a speech, spared him the embarrassment he would have felt in giving a reply in their presence. Almost always confining himself to the part of a passive or docile spectator, the general seemed, by his silence, to approve, or rather to submit. A few words upon the obedience due to superiors, an inclination of the head, or a knitting of the brows, which each could interpret as he pleased, were ordinarily the only share which he took in the conversation. At the same time he was as anxious as he could be, without compromising himself, to modify, by the modest affability of his deportment, the harshness of the reception given by the commissioners; and, on their leaving the hall of audience, his confidants were careful not to let any petitioner depart discontented, or uncertain as to the intentions in which he had come to confide. Particular care was taken to calm the displeasure of the aldermen of London, who, on the faith of the letters which Monk had written to them, had come to meet him at Harborough, reckoning upon a more friendly reception. The tone of freedom and boldness which characterized their address displeased the commissioners of the *Rump* to such a degree, that Monk was compelled to appear cold when Scott and Robinson appeared irritated. The aldermen retired deeply offended, and the report of their misadventure seemed for a moment to discourage other petitioners; but all were soon given to understand that the presentation of their petitions possessed far more importance than the answers which were given to them.

Meanwhile, the Cavaliers, faithful to their system of prudence, forbore to swell the triumphal procession of the restorer of republican laws and liberty. Some even began to change their impatient hopes into suspicions; and their alarm suspended the progress of distrust in Monk's army. At St. Albans, the famous Independent preacher, Hugh Peters, came to congratulate Monk, in a long sermon upon the text, "He led them forth by the right way;" and tracing with his finger on the cushion before him the windings of the course pursued by the Israelites in the desert, he showed that

they wandered forty years to reach the land of Canaan, which was situated at only forty days journey from Egypt; but that, nevertheless, they were always led in "the Lord's way." The application was deemed ingenious; and several of the hearers smiled as they thought that the road might be longer and lead farther than Hugh Peters expected.

From St. Albans, Monk, without informing the commissioners, despatched to the parliament the letter which he had prepared at Nottingham, to request the dismissal of the regiments quartered in London and its neighbourhood, with the exception of those of Morley and Fagg, which had remained faithful to their duty towards the parliament. He feared, he said, to expose the discipline of his army to contact with troops which had so recently been in rebellion, and were always ready to revolt again. Whatever suspicions such a request might arouse in the men to whom it was addressed, the time for resistance was passed. In vain did some strive to obtain that only half of the old regiments should be dismissed, to make room for half of Monk's troops; the movement could no longer be arrested; and Haslerig, in order to baffle his personal enemies, who, he said, that they might cause a quarrel, had suggested to Monk to demand the removal of his regiment, lost no time in soliciting it himself. The order for departure was given; only, as a mark of regret, and to calm the discontent of the soldiers, a month's pay was voted them.

This was not enough to compensate for such an affront, and a very poor amends for the power which these troops had lately exercised, and the pleasures of a London life, to which they were accustomed. At the moment for quitting their quarters, two regiments of infantry mutinied, declaring that they would not consent to depart until they had been paid what was due to them. The cavalry seemed disposed to follow their example. At the same time, the apprentices took arms, and began to parade the city, loudly demanding a free parliament, in the hope that the discontented soldiers would join them in opposing the *Rump*. The news of this outbreak arrived at midnight at Barnet, whence Monk's troops had received orders to march towards the city on the following day. Scott, in alarm, left his house in his nightcap, dressing-gown, and slippers, to go and intreat the general to proceed to London forthwith. "I will answer for this night's dis-

turbance," Monk calmly replied, "and be early enough in the morning to prevent any mischief." Determined to prevent the two armies from coming to blows with each other, he felt little uneasiness about the harm which the soldiers and the parliament might mutually inflict. He soon learned that order had been completely restored. The officers of the mutinous regiments were for the most part new, and chosen by the parliament; and the soldiers, without leaders, had allowed themselves to be pacified by the hope of being paid at their first halting-place. They had marched off quietly, and a few squadrons of cavalry had easily dispersed the apprentices. On the next day, the 3rd of February, 1660, Monk entered London on horseback, at the head of his troops, accompanied by the commissioners of the *Rump*, his principal officers, and a rather numerous cavalcade of persons of more or less rank, who had come to meet him at different parts of his route. The bells rang as he passed; but the people appeared unenthusiastic, and the troops were astonished at meeting with so different a reception to that which they had everywhere received during their march. London had not yet recovered from the emotion of the previous evening: the hatred which was felt to the *Rump* disposed many minds in favour of those who had overthrown it, and against those who had restored it; and Monk's soldiers, emaciated and fatigued by their long and painful march, were a poor substitute, in the eyes of the people, for Cromwell's brilliant and daring army, which had so long held sway over the country. The procession marched towards the residence of the Speaker of the parliament. He had not yet returned from the House, but they met him soon afterwards in his carriage, with the mace, the emblem of his sovereignty. The general dismounted from his horse, and complimented him in a few words; after which he proceeded to Whitehall, where a lodging had been assigned him in the apartments of the Prince of Wales.

The next day, Monk, whom the parliament had appointed a member of the Council of State, which was charged with the executive power, was invited to assume his seat therein, and take the oath of abjuration of royalty. Seven members of the council had refused to take it. Monk said that he could not in conscience decide until he had heard the reasons of both parties, and desired that they might be discussed in a

conference; adding that his army felt great delicacy with regard to oaths, and that he could not bind himself by this one before he had informed it of his intention. The struggle was beginning again: it was now his object gradually to render his army hostile to that parliament which it had come to support. On the second day, Monk, summoned to Westminster to receive the thanks of the parliament, declined to sit down upon the arm-chair which had been placed for him at the bar, and standing up, with his arm resting merely upon the back of the chair, he gave the parliament, in the most modest terms, and with the most submissive tone, a series of counsels, which his position rendered very much like orders. He represented the inconvenience of multiplying oaths and engagements; insisted upon their removing from public employments all Cavaliers and fanatics—a name which the sectaries, whom Cromwell had made the instruments of his power, had never before heard openly applied to themselves. He related how, when assailed upon his journey by a multitude of petitions, expressing the wish to behold the termination of the session of parliament, he had replied that it was his duty to preserve the parliament from all violence; pacifying them, however, by the promise which the parliament had itself given of speedily putting an end to its power. He spoke of Scotland and of Ireland; neglected none of the points which he thought it necessary to settle without delay; and displeased many persons, who, however, did not dare to show that they were offended, so great need had they of holding fast to the last hope.

It was not yet time to disabuse them; and yet it was becoming difficult to deceive them any longer. Now placed upon the stage, and surrounded on all sides by impatient spectators, Monk could no longer make use of his favourite resource of silence. Exposed to suspicion if he did not openly declare his intentions, his taciturnity ceased to be a sufficient disguise, and falsehood became necessary. He adopted this new course of action with all the indifference of a soldier, who considers lying a mere stratagem of war. His pledges daily became more positive. He said to Ludlow, "We must live and die for and with a commonwealth;" and declared that, notwithstanding his respect for the parliament, he would never allow the re-admission of any one of the excluded members. He calmed the irritation of the turbu-

lent Haslerig, who was greatly incensed because the Speaker had treated Monk as a general, instead of calling him Commissioner Monk; dissipated the constantly reviving fears of Scott, and staggered the most resolute distrust by the solemnity of his protestations. Admiral Lawson, who felt little confidence in Monk's principles, said to Ludlow, as he left the house, "The Levite and the priest have passed by and would not help us; I hope we have now found the Samaritan who will save us." At the same time, Mrs. Monk, whom he directed to receive the wives of the members of parliament, overwhelmed them with the attentions of her talkative civility; and with a politeness which, in the eyes of the London ladies, savoured somewhat of vulgarity, she herself poured out wine for them, and went to fetch the sweetmeats which it was then the custom to offer to visitors.

These demonstrations did not, however, shake the confidence which the city had resolved to repose in Monk. His friends and confidants zealously laboured to maintain it. His officers, who were most of them natives of London, diffused among their families and acquaintances the most favourable ideas concerning the general who had restored them to their homes. The people felt a liking for his soldiers, who were modest, orderly, and peaceable, who paid with punctuality, and caused neither disturbance nor fear. The apprentices began to have strong suspicions of the attachment of the Scottish army to the parliament which it had restored. Cries of "A free parliament! Down with the *Rump!*" began to break out in all quarters, and were scarcely repressed, and almost authorized, by the acquiescence of the city magistrates. At length the common council, losing all patience, refused to levy a tax which the *Rump* had attempted to impose upon it; and voted, on the 8th of February, that no more should be collected until the nation was represented by a freely-elected parliament.

The Council of State hastily assembled to deliberate on the measures which they should take against such an act of rebellion. There were two parties in the council: the more moderate ventured to speak only of the danger of the enterprise; Scott opposed and pacified them: "Monk," said he, "has pronounced against the insolence of the city, and has declared that he will defend the parliament." Being invited

to attend the council, Monk found that they had already settled the matter, and that orders to compel the city to obedience were already signed and addressed to the seven commissioners who had been appointed to the government of the army. He had to choose one of three things—either to let the measure be executed by some one else and thus nullify himself; or to oppose it, and compromise himself; or to undertake it, and remain the master. Whether by instinct, or by predetermination, he joined the extreme party, exaggerated the necessity for rigorous measures, offered to do what was required, and answered for his success. At length, it was agreed that on the next day he should enter the city with his army, to demolish the gates and portcullises; to remove and break the chains which blocked up the entrance to the streets, as well as the posts to which they were fastened; to arrest eleven of the most resolute and influential members of the common council; and to quarter his troops in the city, until it should return to its obedience. He returned at two o'clock in the morning to his house, where his friends and domestics were waiting for him in the greatest anxiety. Some days before, they had been informed that Scott's son had confided to the man in whose house he lodged that a plan had been formed, and would soon be executed, for imprisoning Monk in the Tower, and instituting against him a criminal process, by means of which they would speedily get rid of him. His friends thought him lost, but when they saw him return, their grief quickly changed its object. In consternation at the order which Monk had received, and at his resolution to execute it, they vainly sought to dissuade him from his purpose; but he remained inflexible, retired to escape from their importunities, and was just going to bed, when those councillors of state who, like himself, had refused to take the oath of abjuration, arrived to endeavour to divert him from his resolution. Profiting by the lateness of the hour, he would hardly listen to them, and they were obliged to retire.

Monk could not hesitate. His own safety, which had been in danger ever since Sir George Booth's insurrection, was daily becoming more precarious. The disclosures made by Scott's son, even had they merely indicated the fleeting ideas of a moment of ill-humour and suspicion, warned him of the dangers by which he was surrounded; and if the parliament

plucked up courage to accuse him, he was not altogether sure that his army would disbelieve the accusation. But the service which he was about to render the *Rump* could not fail to remove, at least for some time, every pretext for distrust; and perhaps he thought it would be advantageous to take possession of the city in the name of the parliament, that he might afterwards dispose of it at his will. The next morning, on the 9th of February, 1660, without giving any explanation to any one, and before there existed in the city the slightest suspicion of what was contemplated, Monk entered it at the head of his troops, stationed his detachments at their different posts, and established himself in a tavern in the neighbourhood of Guildhall. Surprised at this military parade, the citizens fluctuated between alarm and confidence, and awaited with anxiety the termination of this strange scene. For a moment the report spread that Monk had declared for the king; but this error was not of long duration, and indignation soon succeeded to surprise. The army resented his conduct as much as the citizens. The superior officers, when Monk communicated to them the orders which they were to execute, exclaimed against an act of such ingratitude towards the city, refused to lend themselves to it, and tendered their resignation. The general, while listening to them, chewed his tobacco, and knit his brows; he saw that events were ripening, and learned how much he might risk. "What! will you not obey the parliament?" he asked them, in an abrupt tone, and with a gloomy look; and it was clear that his ill-temper was not directed against them. They withdrew; and Monk only pursued more vigorously those measures which could not fail soon to turn against his adversaries. Upon the refusal of the superior officers, the duty was entrusted to the subalterns. No sooner had the work commenced, than a kind of stupor seized the inhabitants of the city. Their ideas became confused; they did not know what to believe, and could understand nothing of what they saw. "Is this," they said, "that Monk that would bring in the king? This is a Scottish devil. To what shall we come?" In terror they beheld the men who were most beloved in the city arrested and conducted to the Tower. Surprise had banished all ideas of resistance; the people ran in alarm through the streets; and one might have fancied oneself in a a town just taken by storm. The parliamentary party

triumphed, and Haslerig exclaimed: "Now, George, we have thee for ever, body and soul!"

The principal men of the city, however, had not yet lost courage: uncertain as to what to think, they went to Monk, and endeavoured to treat with him on a footing of good-will. They offered him a dinner in the name of the city; he declined, and still retained a gloomy and severe countenance. From all quarters, the most notable citizens came to complain, some in a moderate tone, and others with vehemence, of the indignity of such an affront. Monk was astonished at the warmth of their resentment, and the menaces of their despair; then, towards the end of the day, tired of the part he was playing, or thinking he had done enough, or fearing that it might be dangerous to do more, he gave orders to suspend operations, although only the chains and posts had as yet been removed, and wrote to the parliament that he was in want of tools, as those which he had brought were worn out; but that he did not think it necessary to do any thing further, that the city appeared disposed to submit, and that a common council had been summoned for the next day, when he did not doubt that resolutions of obedience would be passed. From this moment, softening his manner, he received with his accustomed courtesy all the citizens who, during the evening, flocked around him, excusing himself to some by the urgency of the orders which had been given him, and letting others perceive that he entertained a deeper design; "in short," says Whitelocke, "hardly giving the same account to two men."

His language was of little importance; he was the most powerful; they were obliged to believe in him, in order to hope anything at all. Colonel Morley offered to place the Tower in his hands, and promised him the assistance of his own regiment and that of his brother-in-law, Colonel Fagg. The parliament had heard the report of the council of state upon what had passed in the morning. The moderate party were silent in consternation; the triumphant republicans had just voted Monk fifty pounds sterling for the expenses of his table, when they received the letter which he had written from the city. A feeling of violent displeasure seized the victorious party; the common council had been forbidden to meet; its dissolution was now directed; the order for the demolition of the gates and chains was renewed with greater strictness,

and Monk thought that obedience was still his safest course. The same operations were, therefore, recommenced on the morning of the next day; but under an altogether different aspect; the citizens began to resume confidence; the soldiers, now better informed and under little constraint, openly expressed their indignation at the part they were obliged to enact; each blow was accompanied by expressions of anger and insult against those who had given the orders; and the officers, picking up the fragments of the chains, said: "These are the medals and chains of gold that the parliament promised us at Coldstream."

Towards the evening, the troops evacuated the city, and Monk returned to Whitehall. Fresh reason for discontent was thereby excited against him in Westminster; he had received orders to remain in the city, and the parliament began to feel astonished at being so ill obeyed. The republican party was not yet undeceived as to its victory. Resolved to push it still further, it had caused a petition to be presented to the *Rump*, on that very morning, praying that none should be admitted to public employments who had not taken the oath of abjuration of royalty; and this petition had been favourably received. At the same time, Lambert's adherents began to raise their heads; Lambert himself was undisturbed in London, although he had received orders to depart. Monk's army became disturbed and excited; events seemed about to take their course independently of the hand which had directed them up to that point with so much circumspection. It was necessary to yield to them, in order to continue to direct them. On the evening of the 10th, a certain number of officers of his army came to Monk, and told him that, after having dishonoured them in the eyes of the nation, the parliament only sought an opportunity for sacrificing them to Lambert's army; and that it was time to break with a party which, by employing them in its service, had deprived them of all their old friends, without supplying them with new ones. Monk appeared to hesitate, or perhaps really did hesitate, to decide so quickly; at length, after some entreaty, he yielded; and, acting for the first time without the co-operation of the other commissioners, who, with himself, had been entrusted with the government of the army, he gave orders for his troops to march the next day towards the city, directed that his principal officers should be

summoned to Whitehall at an early hour, and during the night had a letter to the parliament prepared. The next day, the officers, whom he had convoked, signed it after him. This letter, perhaps the harshest ever received by that parliament which had already endured so many insults, began by stating the grievances of the army, amongst which the city affair figured in the first rank; and ended by declaring that it was indispensable that, before the following Friday, the parliament should have issued its writs for the election of the members destined to fill the vacant seats, and that it should fix the 6th of May as the day upon which it would finally retire, to give place to a freely-elected parliament. As soon as the letter had been dispatched, Monk placed himself at the head of his troops, and marched towards Finsbury Fields, from whence he sent to the lord-mayor, to request him to provide quarters for his soldiers. Surprised, and not very much pleased at this fresh visit, the lord-mayor, Sir Thomas Allen, evading a direct answer, sent to invite the general to dine with him, when they would confer about his request. Monk went to him immediately, and noticing the constrained behaviour of the lord-mayor, said, "How is this? your lordship does not receive me in the same manner as usually!" The lord-mayor alleged as his reason the occurrences of the preceding days. "My return," said Monk, "is for the very purpose of rectifying all our misunderstandings; will your lordship convoke a common council this afternoon in the Guildhall?" This was the very council which the parliament had dissolved. Nothing further was required to indicate his change of purpose. Besides, some friends had been informed of it, and the general's suite, which had entered London, had begun to diffuse new hopes. After a splendid dinner, which announced a day of rejoicing, Monk was preparing to accompany the lord-mayor to Guildhall—where the common council had hastened to assemble, and which was surrounded on every side by the people, impatient for the news they were about to learn—when the arrival of two parliamentary commissioners, Scott and Robinson, was announced.

Upon receiving Monk's letter, the parliament, informed of his march to the city, and of the movement which seemed to be preparing there, had judged that it was most urgent to induce him to withdraw from thence, if it were possible, and had sent to him Scott and Robinson, thinking they would be

agreeable to him, with orders to inform him that at the moment when his letter arrived, the parliament was engaged in considering the measures to be taken for the elections, and that they would settle that affair as soon as they had regulated certain others. The two deputies were to press Monk to return to Whitehall, where he would be able to satisfy himself more closely, and with his own eyes, of the good intentions of the parliament; whereas by remaining in the city, he exposed the fidelity of his soldiers to the influence of a disaffected populace. Scott and Robinson, who had with difficulty got through the crowd, which felt alarmed at their arrival, were furthermore obliged, in order to reach the general, to pass through the midst of a hundred of those officers who had lately appeared so respectful, but who now, rude and irritated, loaded them with reproaches of ingratitude and perfidy. Monk received them coldly, answered them by bitter complaints of the conduct of the parliament, and, when the commissioners desired to express to him the fears which were occasioned them by his sojourn in the city, "If the parliament," said he, "will do as I desire them in my letter, they have nothing to fear; all will go well." The deputies were in consternation; Scott himself, for the first time, acknowledged that no further reliance could be placed upon Monk's respect for the parliament. Both retired, and had great difficulty in escaping from the search of the apprentices, who examined every carriage, and covered with mud those in which they suspected the commissioners might be.

Monk, on his part, proceeded to Guildhall, and without appearing embarrassed at disavowing his previous conduct, spoke as follows: "The last time I was among you, it was for the most disagreeable matter I have been engaged in during my whole life; the execution of which was as contrary to my own inclinations as to the obligations I have to the city. But since what is done, is done, I can only be sorry for those affronts which have been put upon you against my will; and I have come to London, in order to render a fuller answer to your letters than I was able to do at Morpeth, where I received them. In compliance with your desires, I have this morning written to the parliament to issue out their writs, within seven days, for filling up the vacant seats; and to fix on the 6th of May next as the day on which to dissolve; and thereby to give place to a full and free parliament. In

the interim, I am resolved to quarter my army in the city, and to continue myself among you, till I see the contents of my letter, and the desires of the city and nation, accomplished."

At these words, the hall re-echoed with acclamations; and the people answered them from without. Already Monk's letter to the parliament had been printed, and distributed in the city; the bells began to ring; bonfires were lighted, and, in joy at the dissolution of the *Rump*, all the hind-quarters of animals which were to be found in the butchers' shops were thrown into them. Lodgings were assigned to the soldiers, who up to that time had remained under arms, and without taking any food. All their wants were forthwith supplied; wine and money was lavished upon them, and the whole night was passed in a disorderly freedom, which continually increasing, began soon to threaten the safety of the vanquished. It was in accordance with neither Monk's taste nor intentions to leave the field open to popular violence; and these dangerous outbreaks were repressed. Precautions taken at the post-offices prevented the transmission from London on the next day of any other accounts but those likely to favour the propagation of the movement; and over the whole face of England, on the arrival of the mails, the *Rump* was burnt by the youth of the towns, who, on this occasion, received but little blame from sensible people.

The 11th of February, 1660, was one of those decisive days which Providence marks as final, and which men on reaching boast of having brought about. "This was a trick you knew not of," said Monk laughingly to Price, when after his success the latter respectfully inquired what motive could have induced him to undertake the unworthy part which he had played for some hours. Monk himself had, probably, neither combined nor foreseen long beforehand the effect of that series of treacheries, which were continually ready, and so admirably adapted to the moment which rendered them useful; but he had learned daily, and with a singular mixture of artifice and good sense, of prudence and boldness, how to unravel and complete the movement which was destined to carry him forward to his object. He became, from that day forth, the sole power in England, for there no longer existed in the country any other force, but that of public opinion, which Monk had first taken as his ally. It still remained

to be seen what use he would make of his power. Careful to maintain uncertainty, he always reserved to himself liberty to decide, at the last moment, for one of the two parties to which he had supplied equal motives for hope and fear. For a long while the excluded members had been begging him to favour their re-admission into the parliament; he was engaged in secret negotiations with them, whilst he continued to protest loudly against their pretensions. He had at first been inclined to take some more direct way for arriving at his definitive object, which now, in his opinion at least, had ceased to be problematical, but public opinion proved to him the necessity for another circuit. The excluded members, for the most part, possessed of that importance which attaches to long participation in public affairs, influential in their counties, and restored to popularity by their disgrace, would have had it in their power to embarrass any man who attempted to pass them over. Their re-admission was moreover the only prompt means of modifying this parliament, which, though now quite prostrate, might rally, and inflict a dangerous blow in its dying moments. On the 11th of February, the moderate party in the House had tried to profit so far by the consternation of their adversaries as to obtain that, instead of renewing Monk's appointment as one of the seven commissioners of the army, they should name him general-in-chief. This proposition had awakened the energy of despair among the vanquished; they had voted that the number of the Commissioners should be reduced to five, that three of them should suffice to constitute a quorum, and some one having demanded that Monk must necessarily belong to this quorum, the motion had been rejected; so that the majority of this commission, who belonged to the party opposed to Monk, might, at any given moment, use against him the military authority with which they were invested. Arms taken from the government arsenals had been distributed amongst the numerous sectaries whom their common interests rallied against a Presbyterian parliament. Lambert's army began to move about in its quarters; and even Monk's troops, who, during the last few days, had again been called upon to deliberate and act according to their own opinions, seemed to assume a less submissive aspect. It was necessary, before the spirit of resistance had begun to appear, to hasten to deprive it of all support; and if the officers could not be induced to consent to the re-admission

of the excluded members into the parliament, they must at least be prevented from opposing it.

The head-quarters still remained in the city; vainly had Monk been urged to return to Whitehall, and resume his seat at the council of state; he had distinctly refused to do so until the oath of abjuration had been dispensed with; and as for his stay in the city, it was indispensable, he said, to allay disquietude, and restrain the discontent excited by the distribution of arms among the fanatics. There, receiving daily visits from such of the excluded members as happened to be in London,—Annesley, Pierrepont, Holles, Grimstone,—Monk admitted them to interviews in presence of several of his officers; and nearly all of them, surprised at the moderation and urbanity of those men whom they had ever before regarded as enemies, yielded to the ascendancy which is exercised by superior powers over coarse and unreflecting minds, seldom accustomed to distinguish their opinions from their impressions. At these conferences there were present some of the moderate members of the *Rump*, who were disposed, if they could venture to do it without endangering any vital point, to favour the re-admission of the excluded members. Monk, in his conversations with Haslerig, Ludlow, and their adherents, always declared such a measure impossible; but to free himself, as he said, from the importunities of Annesley and Pierrepont, he requested Scott and Haslerig to consent to a parley. The latter were no longer in a condition to refuse to negotiate, they repaired to Monk's lodging, where they found twelve of the excluded members and several officers. At Annesley's first words Haslerig grew angry, and would have left the room. Monk prevented him, saying, with a laugh, "Let Annesley alone; I know well how to moderate him." Haslerig resumed his seat; and Annesley continued without further interruption. Haslerig, unable to endure any more, at length went out; and, after his departure, the conference was brought to a peaceable conclusion. The great objection urged by the members of the *Rump* was the disorder which would be caused by revoking all the sales of property, and all the acts which had been passed in favour of liberty of conscience. The excluded members promised not to interfere with these interests, or to turn their attention to the past, but to labour only to establish the future well-being of the country upon more lawful and secure foundations. No disagreement took place,

yet no decision was arrived at; and, when the sitting was over, the officers, left alone with their general, declared that, in order to come to any determination, something more than mere conferences was required. Two or three, however, less headstrong than the others, demanded that the excluded members should bind themselves to pass a fresh vote in parliament for a republican government, and the confirmation of the sales of the public lands. In opposition to this, it was urged that the writs for the elections would necessarily be issued in the name of the "keepers of the liberties of the commonwealth of England;" and that the sales of land had been confirmed as much as it was possible for them to be. In order not to leave time for new objections to be raised, all the excluded members who were in London met together on the evening of the 20th of February, and made a definitive arrangement by promising, amongst other things, to vote, immediately after their readmission, that a tax should be levied sufficient to discharge the pay of the troops, including their arrears; to convoke a new parliament for the 20th of April following, and to appoint Monk commander-in-chief of the forces both by land and sea. On his part he promised to require nothing more from them during the continuance of their session; and they separated, leaving it to a future period, which seemed very near at hand, to unfold what it was not yet necessary to discuss.

Early the next morning Monk left the city, and transferred his head-quarters again to Whitehall, where he had directed the excluded members to meet him. On their arrival, there was read to them in his name a speech which, he said, he had committed to writing through fear of being misunderstood or deceived, as had recently been the case. Reasons against the restoration of the Stuarts and of episcopacy, and upon the necessity of their either withdrawing and preparing the way for new parliaments, or of convoking one for the 20th of April, constituted the principal topics of this speech, which, on the same day, was printed by Monk's orders, with the title of a *Declaration*, and afterwards sent by him to the parliament, in the form of a letter*. Thus fortified, Monk directed his guards to conduct the excluded members to Westminster,

* Lord Wharncliffe is of opinion that the speech published by Monk's orders was not the same as that which he had had read to the excluded members.

where several officers were at the door to receive them. Some of the peers wished to profit by this opportunity to resume possession of their house,* but the time had not yet arrived; the attempt had been foreseen, and Colonel Miller, in command of the guard on duty there, who had his orders, executed them like a soldier, in such a manner as to give great offence to those who had endeavoured to obtain admission.

The republicans, still blind and deceived, were completely ignorant of what was in preparation. On beholding the men, whom they had expelled so long before, return and take their seats in their old places, their uneasiness was equal to their anger. Several, and amongst others Haslerig, left the house, exclaiming that Monk was a traitor. Ludlow refused to enter it again; resolved not to sanction, as he said, the illegal readmission of one hundred and fifty-seven members who had been expelled by seventy others, legally elected, and constituting a number competent to vote. Some of the malcontents subsequently returned; others remained, for they began to take thought for the morrow on their own account. The parliament, thus completed, hastened to fulfil its promise, by appointing Monk general-in-chief of the troops in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The command of the fleet was given to Admiral Montague; and as if to assert its independence, the convocation of the new parliament was postponed to the 25th of April. It was voted that its chains and gates should be restored to the city; the liberation of those persons who had been imprisoned on account of the transactions of the 9th of February was ordered, and an inquiry was instituted into the causes of the arrest of Sir George Booth. On the same day Monk caused a letter to be drawn up, addressed to all the garrisons, that it might be sent off on the next morning, simultaneously with the news of the restoration of the excluded members, explaining the necessity which had compelled him to place the parliament in a condition to vote the taxes requisite for the payment of the troops, and concluding with the strictest injunctions to watch and publicly denounce all who should attempt to stir in favour of Charles Stuart.

* William, Earl of Strafford, son of the great Earl of Strafford, who was executed in 1641, appeared on this day as one of the most eager to resume possession of his seat in the House of Lords. He died, without issue, in 1695, and the title, won by his illustrious father, thus became extinct.

Everything, however, was in obedience to those beginnings of re-action which are followed up and favoured by a government ready to alter its course. A new Council of State had been appointed, composed principally of the members who had just been readmitted into the parliament. Lambert was arrested; Sir George Booth and his adherents were released, without submitting to the conditions which had at first been required of them; and the Bishop of Ely, after twenty years of imprisonment in the Tower, was permitted once more to behold the light of liberty. The militia was organized, and its command entrusted to men whose views could no longer be doubtful. Old officers were dismissed, and replaced by royalist gentlemen. Haslerig and several of his party went once more to see Monk, and remind him of his promises; upon which the general, taking off his glove, placed his hand in that of Haslerig, and said, in a solemn tone, "I protest to you that I will oppose with my utmost strength the setting up of Charles Stuart, and the government of a single person, or a house of peers." He added immediately, "What then have I done to give you disquiet in bringing these members into the house? If others cut off the king's head, and that justly, are not these the same that brought him to the scaffold?" Haslerig left him once more reassured. Ludlow, no less ardent, attempted to raise a conspiracy, trusting to the promise which Colonel Morley had made to give him possession of the Tower; but, fortunately for himself, he met with a thousand hindrances to the execution of his project. Overton was striving to induce Hull and some other English garrisons to revolt; but, being prevented in time, he gave up the town to Colonel Fairfax, who was appointed to supersede him. The Irish army had declared for a free and full parliament; and Scotland, where Morgan had received fresh reinforcements, was ready to obey at the slightest signal.

The republicans, reduced to Monk's fidelity as their last resource, neglected no means to restrain and secure him. A few days after the restoration of the excluded members, they had proposed to give in perpetuity, to Monk and his heirs, the royal domain of Hampton Court, which Oliver Cromwell had reserved to himself out of the property of the crown. The restored members had not dared to oppose this grant; but Monk himself, embarrassed by such a favour, declared that the house was too large for him. His friends, therefore, on

the third reading of the bill, proposed to substitute for the title of proprietor that of steward for life of the domains and manors of Hampton Court; and Monk, by accepting a gratuity of twenty thousand pounds sterling instead of the property, clearly showed the slight dependence which he placed upon the stability of the then existing government. The alarm was great among those persons whose fortune and existence were connected with it. The army especially observed with uneasiness that it was imperceptibly withdrawn from all participation in public affairs, and felt that whatever was done without it, might be done against it. Already had the officers complained of the plan for the reorganization of the militia, and particularly that this duty had been entrusted to men notoriously infected with royalism. Monk appeared surprised; and wishing, as he said, to have the thing explained to him, he demanded that a conference should be held between his officers and some members of the different parties in the parliament. Several were held, in which Haslerig supported the wishes of the army, and Monk the supremacy of the parliament. Finally, when the dispute had lasted a considerable time, they declared that it was time to have done with these parleys, which had become useless, as the result could not be brought before the parliament, now on the point of dissolution.

Men do not quietly consent to continue without any influence over the decision of their own fate. The republican party, considering its defeat inevitable, was desirous to take part in it, were it only in the hope of rendering its downfall more gentle. It felt less alarmed at a new protectorate than at the restoration of royalty. Those men especially who, either in the parliament or in the army, had contributed to the death of the king, would have esteemed themselves fortunate if they could at any price have got rid of his son. They resolved, therefore, to offer Monk the supreme power for himself; and the parliament having, on the 13th of March, 1660, effaced from its journals the pledge of fidelity to the republic in its actually existing form, without a king or house of lords, Scott, Haslerig, and some others, members of parliament, or officers of their party, approached Monk at Whitehall, whither he had come to attend the Council of State, and began by expressing to him the apprehensions excited in them by the proceedings of the parliament, and particularly by the vote of the preceding evening. "It is visible enough," said Haslerig,

"that they want to bring back the king." "If he were to come in again, general," said another, "you would be lost; you would have contributed too much to it to make it possible to reward you; you would be put out of the way, like Stanley, when he placed Henry VII. on the throne. It was but a frivolous pretext: but his real crime was an excess of merit." Monk showed little emotion at this. "I have not either," said he, "been much pleased with the late unnecessary vote. I have mentioned it to some of the most reasonable; and they have told me that since the case of finally modelling the form of government was referred to the parliament now about to meet, they would not encroach on its authority, nor encumber themselves with an engagement made beforehand. But there is nothing to be afraid of," he added; "the writs of election will fix the limits of discussion." His audience did not appear satisfied. "The people," they said, "are always bad judges of what is best for themselves; and therefore, since a single person is necessary, there cannot be one fitter than yourself for the office; and in this we have good grounds to believe all the good people of the nation will concur with us." Monk continued calm. "I have the example of Cromwell before me," he said; "and I have reasons to avoid the rock on which that family was split." It was urged in reply that Cromwell had usurped the sovereignty against the will of the army and of the respectable classes. "You, on the contrary," they said, "will have their unanimous consent, and under what name and title you please to accept it." "We will give you a hundred thousand signatures," cried Haselrig, with his usual impetuosity. Monk persevered in rejecting with indifference the offer of a fortune which was not solid enough to tempt him. His ambition was neither unbounded nor unreflecting, and he possessed no quality likely to make him disregard the precautions of good sense and the calculations of probability. The baffled negotiators left him, in order, without loss of time, to try other measures, and Monk repaired to the Council. It is said that his brother-in-law, Clarges, to whom the republican deputies had at first made some overtnres, seeing them call afterwards upon Monk, and apparently presuming upon the intentions of the general, had immediately informed Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was then in the Council, of what was going forward. Eager to find their enemies in fault, the presbyterian members of the Council had

decided that, as soon as the conference was over, and the general had taken his seat, Clarges should be summoned to depose what he knew, and that Monk should be requested to give the necessary information to prevent such mischievous designs. Monk arrived, and thought that there was no reason for such agitation. "It is true," he said, "that some have been with me to be resolved in scruples concerning the past transactions of parliament, but they went away well satisfied." It was equally opposed to Monk's inclinations to destroy persons from whom he had nothing to fear, to break with those whom he still hoped to deceive, and to hasten by violence that which might be peaceably accomplished.

One more effort to thwart his views was, however, in preparation for him. When the conference broke up, the principal leaders among the officers had met together, and determined to compel the parliament, before its dissolution, to constitute the country a republic for evermore, in such a manner that no subsequent parliament could have any right to alter that form of government. A declaration was accordingly drawn up for the army to sign; and the meeting separated after having appointed a general council of officers for the next day.

Clarges was with Monk when they brought him the declaration for his signature at the head of the army. He saw that the general was disquieted, and proposed to adjourn its signature till the next day, at the general council of officers. Monk was present; and Colonel Okey, one of the king's judges, and more bold in action than able in discussion, spoke in the name of the malcontents, saying that the good old cause was lost, unless a remedy were applied, and that the surest remedy would be the proposed declaration. "If the parliament should refuse to subscribe it," he added, "we must take such other methods to save the nation as the Lord may inspire." Clarges, who followed him, asked his auditors what means they could use for imposing their will upon the parliament, which was strong in the concurrence of the people, who would not fail to assist it with all their strength in repelling the despotism of the army. "To succeed formerly," he said, "you found it necessary to impeach at different times, fourteen of its members, and to exclude two hundred; and now what will it do if you should resort to violence again? It will dissolve itself without issuing the writs of election, and will leave you without a government and without pay; unless, after having treated as

you have with Richard Cromwell, you should have recourse to his favour. There would be one resource remaining," added he, turning towards Monk, "that his Excellency should undertake the government, but he has refused."

"I had rather be torn to pieces by wild horses," said Monk, "than be so treacherous to the country's freedom."

Clarges resumed; a reply ensued; the debate was long and animated; and Monk, according to his custom, taking up the discussion when the embarrassment felt at answering questions began to leave the field open to authority, gravely admonished the officers of their duty, prohibited such assemblies for the future, remarked who were the boldest and most rebellious, that he might quickly get rid of them, and the next day wrote to the parliament.

The approaching dissolution was about to free him from several of those parties which he had to humour or to lead. None at this moment gave him more trouble than his own, or at least, that which he had temporarily adopted for the purpose of arriving at his definitive object. With satisfaction he beheld the Presbyterians daily advancing further and further along the road to royalty; but he would neither advance along with them, nor on any account allow them to get before him. The difficulty was to keep them back. Once restored to possession of their seats in parliament, the leaders of this party, consulting their own interest as well as that of the country, had thought that they ought to make use of this restoration to power in order to secure their share in the great event which was in preparation, and to establish finally, by the restoration of the king, the essential results of the revolution they had accomplished twenty years before. Prynne was the first to say, "If the king must come in, it is safest for those who made war against his father that he should come in by their votes;" and with this view, many seemed disposed still to defer the dissolution of the parliament. Monk, careful to prevent any fresh combination, actively employed for that purpose during three weeks the dexterity of Morrice, his surest and most useful confidant among the Presbyterians. Silence was imposed on Prynne; the severe republicanism of the general repressed all premature confidence; the most obstinate were reminded of their promise and of the necessity of a dissolution. At length they decided upon it on the 16th of March, and that

Long Parliament which, though convoked for the purpose of supporting liberty, had practised itself in the exercise of tyranny, found that, after having survived so many defeats, it did not possess sufficient strength to exist a few weeks longer, and complete its work. In vain did they, by a vote passed before their separation, prohibit the employment of any officer unless he declared in writing that he approved of the war waged by the Houses against the late king; in vain did they desire to exclude from the next parliament those who had taken arms against the one about to dissolve, together with their sons: the *Rump* was no longer in a condition to survive, and no one was deceived with regard to the nullity of its testamentary dispositions.

On the day of its last sitting, Monk, urged no doubt by his officers, wrote to the House to request it to revoke the act concerning the militia, the organization of which being entrusted, as he said, to suspected persons, might, in spite of the army, lead to the return of Charles Stuart. Some, disturbed and embarrassed by this message, apprehended a snare; but others had received secret instructions. Prynne went immediately to the printer to hasten the publication of the act, which, in fact, appeared the same evening; and a large number of gentlemen set out for their counties to realize the fears of the army.

Everything was rapidly advancing towards an appointed end. Royalist opinions, if they did not yet pretend to rule, at least were no longer concealed. The people, always bolder than their leaders, because they reflect less, and have much less to lose, cried out on all sides, "The king! the king!" Royalist songs echoed freely through the streets; and two days before the dissolution of the parliament, a painter, accompanied by some soldiers*, came to the Royal Exchange,

* This fact is related by Clarendon in a letter to Sir Henry Bennet, dated April 10, 1660, (Clarendon, *State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 725,) and confirmed by Pepys, in his *Journal*, from 1659 to 1669, (vol. i., p. 46, of the 8vo edition of 1828); but neither make any mention of soldiers having taken part in it, and Lord Wharncliffe, in his translation of this work, asks how I managed to introduce them into my narrative, and endeavours to explain the addition by a mistake. The presence of the soldiers is expressly mentioned in a letter addressed from London to M. de Brienne, on the 25th of March, 1660, which runs thus: "I will tell you an occurrence, which I saw with my own eyes; namely that, about seven o'clock in the evening, some soldiers, accompanied by other

and effaced the inscription placed there on the spot formerly occupied by the statue of Charles I.: *Exit tyrannus, regum ultimus, anno libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, annoque Domini*, 1648. No one asked the painter for his orders, and no one doubted that they came from the general. As for Monk, always the same, that is to say, constant in varying his language according to the person to whom he spoke, he gave no ground for forming a definite opinion regarding himself. The movement went on increasing, while the man who directed it did not seem to advance a single step, unless it were to recede the instant after. One of the king's agents in London, wrote on the 10th of March: "On Wednesday Monk declared himself to my friend that he would acquiesce in the judgment of the parliament both in relation to your Majesty and the House of Lords; and yet yesterday he told him, in great passion, he would spend the last drop of his blood, rather than the Stuarts should ever come into England; though I hear from other hands he was in good temper again the same night." His slightest expressions, carefully gathered up, and repeated from mouth to mouth, only served, by their variety, to maintain the prevailing uncertainty. It was known, however, that Mrs. Monk, in her impertinent gaiety, had asked Hugh Peters, who had grown rich upon confiscated property, if he were not for the restoration; and little Kit, her son, being tormented with questions and presents, had avowed that one morning, in bed, his father and mother had talked about the return of the king. The Republicans could deceive themselves no longer. Henry Martin, with whom Monk had been intimate, one day asked him what he finally intended to establish. "A commonwealth," said Monk; "I have always desired it, and desire it still." "I ought to

persons, came to the Exchange, with ladders, and then effaced what was written beneath the statue of the defunct king, to the effect that he, that is, his statue, had been cast out of that place, as a tyrant. This action took place very peaceably, and with great acclamations of the people there assembled, who were in great numbers, indeed, almost as many as if it had been at full Exchange; moreover bonfires were lighted in the midst of the said Exchange, where the shouts were of nothing but *Long live the King!* as I remained till the last moment to try and learn something worthy of being communicated to you." (*Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France;* Angleterre, reg. 58, No. 135.) This narrative of an eye-witness is moreover conformable to probability. If, as all who mention this fact seem to think, Monk was no stranger to it, there is reason to believe that he sent some soldiers to accompany the painter who was directed to efface the inscription.

believe your excellency," replied Martin; "but will you give me leave to tell you a story? A city tailor was met one evening in the country with implements of husbandry, and was asked what he was going to do with them. 'To take measure for a new suit,' he answered. 'What! with a spade and a pickaxe.' 'Yes, these are the measures used now-a-days.'"

However, that which alarmed some was not sufficient entirely to satisfy others. The cavaliers did not yet dare to approach Monk; one alone, Sir John Greenville, knew that he was accessible, and began to seek for means of communicating with him.

The very evening of the return of the excluded members to Westminster, Monk went to establish himself at St. James's, where, at a greater distance from the city and less exposed to observation, he expected to be able to conduct with more secresy the new affairs in which he foresaw he would soon have to engage. Sir John, in quality of a relation, often went to see him there, like many others; but he was always received in the midst of a crowd, and vainly prolonged his visits beyond their due limits, in order to contrive to be alone with the general. As soon, however, as the apartments began to empty, and Monk foresaw a *tête-à-tête*, he used to say, "It is late; good night, cousin;" or else, at other times, he was called away by business. Desperate at not being able to find a favourable moment, Sir John at length addressed himself to Morrice, one of the restored members, a friend and relation of the general, who lodged in his house, and who, since the affair had increased, had supplied the place of the political committee and of Chaplain Gumble, in its confidential direction. Greenville conjured him to obtain for him an interview with the general, to whom he had to communicate some matters of the highest importance. Monk sent him word to confide them to Morrice. Greenville absolutely refused to divulge them to any other than the general himself, and declared that, if he could not obtain an audience, he would speak to him the very next time he met him, no matter in what place. Monk gave him an interview on the next evening in Morrice's apartments. Greenville began by congratulating himself that he was at length able to place in the general's hands a deposit which had been for a long while in his own, and to fulfil the orders of the king his master

regarding him; at the same time he presented to him the letters written by the king at the time of Sir George Booth's insurrection. Monk, casting his eye over the papers, receded a few steps, and asked his cousin, in an angry tone, how it was that he had not feared the danger to which he exposed himself by undertaking such a mission to him. Greenville replied that he willingly ran the risk, as he had often done before, for the king's service. "But in this case, general," he added, "I am the more encouraged in regard that your Excellency cannot but remember the message you received in Scotland by your brother."

Disguise was no longer seasonable: Monk suddenly changed his tactics, and advancing with open arms towards his cousin, thanked him for having kept his secret so well, and assured him that there was no man in the world with whom he would have preferred to treat in this great matter. He then read the letter. "I cannot," wrote the king, "think you wish me ill, for you have no reason so to do; and the good I expect from you will bring so great a benefit to your country and to yourself, that I cannot think you will decline my interest." In the powers given to Greenville, Charles thus expressed himself: "I am confident that George Monk can have no malice in his heart against me, nor hath done anything against me which I cannot easily pardon; and it is in his power to do me so great service, that I cannot easily reward; but I will do all I can."

He then authorized Greenville to treat with Monk on the conditions which the general should ask, either for himself, or for his army, the command of which the king promised to continue to him. According to his secret instructions, however, Greenville was to confine himself to promising, in the king's name, a grant of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be distributed between Monk and his army, as the general should please. But since the 21st of July, 1659, when these letters were dated, times and situations had greatly changed; and Greenville did not think he exceeded his powers by offering to Monk, with the title of Lord High Constable, the choice of any of the great offices of the crown. Too well assured of his market to spoil it by making his bargains too soon, Monk refused every condition for himself; and, lying even when he was treating sincerely, he disavowed, in terms of the most humble and submissive loyalty, all that part of

his past conduct which had been in opposition to the fidelity which, he said, he had always preserved in his heart. "I have never," added he, "been in a condition to serve the king till the present time; I am now not only ready to obey his commands, but to sacrifice my life and fortune in his service." And then calling Morrice, "This honest man," he said, "shall witness my promise." Everything was speedily arranged between them. Monk was disposed to trust, at least as much for his country as for himself, to the gracious intentions of his Majesty; but in order to remove every obstacle to his return, he required, first, a general amnesty, except for those whom the parliament should think it proper to exclude; secondly, a promise to consent to every act judged necessary to confirm the sales of lands, and secure the payment of the arrears of the army; thirdly and lastly, liberty of conscience, as far as it should be compatible with the tranquillity of the civil government. Moreover, he entreated the king at once to leave the Spanish territories, from whence, when he was once acknowleged as king of England, he would probably find it difficult to escape without some troublesome condition. Monk, not wishing yet to venture a letter to the king, requested Sir John to be himself the bearer of his answer, read his instructions to him several times, and then burnt the paper, exacting a promise that he would not re-write it, but confide the secret of his mission to the king alone, without any intermediary. This precaution, it is said, had particular reference to the Chancellor Hyde, the object of Monk's special antipathy, which he amply returned.

Greenville made his passage in the same vessel with Lord Mordaunt, who was going to Brussels on his own account, and who had not the slightest suspicion of the mission of his travelling companion. Every one at that moment sought to treat on his own account, and to secure his own share of profit in the sequel. There was not a single interest, or shade of opinion which had not its agent at Brussels or near Monk, and ordinarily in both quarters at once; all seeking to outstrip and deceive each other; and entertaining mutual distrust without being able to divine the views of their opponents. Among the most important, Hollis and the other presbyterian leaders, on some occasions, flattered themselves that they were directing the course of events. Their intentions were sincere and patriotic, but their obstinacy had derived no light

from experience. After so many reverses which they had not been able to avoid, and after so long impotency, they thought they were restored by events, which had taken their course independently of them, to the same point which they had occupied before their fall; and did not perceive that the power just restored to them was but one of the first steps in the reaction which raised them up for a moment, in order subsequently to proceed much farther. In possession of the government, which was then entirely vested in the Council of State, these former leaders of the Long Parliament, considered themselves still the masters of the country, of whose opinions they were ignorant, and whose army was against them, and they prepared to contest with the king the conditions which they desired to impose upon his restoration. These were rigorous; his father had accepted them only when reduced to the last extremity, when the moment for obtaining them had already elapsed. What appeared to them their greatest difficulty was to gain Monk, who daily grew more strict in his presbyterian republicanism. It only remained for him to deceive these men, and to this task he diligently applied himself. They approached him with caution, and were at first repulsed by his unshakeable attachment to the republic. Their arguments, however, were powerful; the men by whom he was addressed were worthy of consideration; he appeared to allow himself to be convinced; then he suddenly hesitated, and seemed to fear to meddle with a difficult negociation, which it would be better to leave to the parliament. The Presbyterians attached only the more value to the victory which Monk seemed to grant them with regret; and a messenger was hastily despatched on their part to inform Charles II. that they had at length induced the general to recognize him upon the same conditions as had been proposed to his father in the Isle of Wight, but upon those conditions alone. They conjured his majesty not to reject this means, perhaps the only one, of regaining his crown. Sir John Greenville had just arrived, and had seen the king, when the presbyterian envoy brought these propositions. Charles and his advisers, whom, notwithstanding Monk's repugnance, it had been found necessary to inform of the general's offers, experienced a moment's uneasiness; but, being quickly reassured by Sir John, the king smiled at the tardy service which Monk's messenger had just taught him

to despise, and refused to enter into negociations with the Presbyterian leaders.

All were anxious, at this last moment, to regain the time they had lost, and were alarmed at seeing events hasten onwards before they had taken their position in them. The French ambassador, M. de Bourdeaux, entreated Clarges, with whom he had some acquaintance, to procure him an interview with the general. Clarges called upon him, and the ambassador, having taken him alone into his study, commenced, with his Gascon vivacity, a conversation, the burden of which Clarges willingly allowed him to bear. "The general," said Bourdeaux, "has some great design; everybody can see that this is the case. Without any doubt, he wishes either to make himself king, or to bring the king back. Well! in either of these cases, no one can render him greater service than myself. An Englishman would compromise his safety, but I run no risk. But what I propose is not merely in reference to myself, but to the cardinal. He will be delighted to have the honour of his Excellency's friendship, and is ready to assist him in all his plans." Then resuming his own discourse, he added, "I would not say which would be best for the general, whether to establish the sovereignty of his own family, or to bring back the king. Both would raise him to great honour, and the latter would not be less glorious because it is more easy. But in every case, he may reckon upon the cardinal; for you should know, the cardinal was the close ally of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell did not seize upon the sovereignty without his concurrence, and it was the cardinal who directed him, step by step, in all that business." And continuing to offer his services, he assured Clarges that, if it were the general's intention to restore the king, the best thing he could do would be to advise Charles to pass over into France, and place the whole negociation in the cardinal's hands, in which case there was nothing that Monk might not expect from the court of France.

Clarges received these overtures coldly, and, anxious to relieve himself from a useless and dangerous confidence, declared himself much too insignificant a person to enter into such great affairs, and contented himself with assuring the ambassador that his brother-in-law had no such ambition for himself, and was even determined to submit to the decision of parliament. "Your parliaments," said Bourdeaux, "are such

tumultuary and changeable assemblies, that no reliance can be placed upon them. If the general does not do what I advise, they may hurry him into some measure which will ruin both himself and his family." Clarges withdrew, promising the ambassador that he would sound his brother-in-law in order to ascertain how far such a proposition could be opened to him, and would inform Bourdeaux thereof, that he might treat in his own person, knowing, as he said, enough English to make himself understood by the general, who did not know a word of French.

Monk would listen to nothing of the kind; but, so as not to offend the ambassador, he consented to receive from him a simple visit which, on Bourdeaux's part, was confined to general offers of service, and ended in nothing more.*

Charles, by the advice of Monk, had immediately left Brussels, and taken up his residence at Breda, from whence Greenville soon after set out again, bearing letters and declarations from the king, addressed to the new parliament, the army, and the city; others were for Monk, of which one in particular was written with Charles's own hand; a commission of generalissimo of all the forces by sea and land in the three kingdoms; and finally, a blank appointment of a secretary of state, which Monk destined for Morrice. But for the moment, keeping only the king's letter, and true to his habits of precaution, Monk would not take possession of the other papers, which Greenville locked up, until the day arrived for using them, in a secret receptacle which had long been appropriated to such purposes.

The month of April was approaching, and with it the elec-

* This is the account which Clarges himself gives of his and Monk's relations with the French ambassador, in the *Continuation of Baker's Chronicle*, of which he is the author. This account is completed and almost entirely confirmed by the documents published at the end of this volume, which contain the whole of that part of M. de Bourdeaux's correspondence with Cardinal Mazarin and M. de Brienne, which has reference to the progressive conduct of Monk, both in Scotland and England, from the death of Cromwell to the restoration of Charles II. The publication of these documents relieves me from the necessity of again refuting the anecdote related by Locke, on the authority of his friend Ashley Cooper, the celebrated Earl of Shaftesbury, who boasted of having baffled Monk in his design for assuming the sovereignty of England, with the aid of Cardinal Mazarin. It will there be seen with what good reason Hume, Hallam, and Lord Wharncliffe, have refused credence to this anecdote.

tions. No doubt was felt as to the majority which they would indicate; and Monk, who refused no request, having written to the municipal officers of Bridgnorth to recommend to the choice of the electors Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary, they replied, that they had not ventured to make use of his letter, and added, "We jointly conclude that the general's writing would be so far from speeding your election, that his standing would not have carried his own at Bridgnorth, except he would have declared himself absolutely for the king, and without any such terms as they hear are about to be offered to him." The militia was organized everywhere in the same spirit. The army, discontented but subdued, offered no further resistance, although it was still held in dread. Severe penalties were enacted against any who should endeavour to excite disturbance or alarm among the soldiers or officers, and ten pounds reward was promised to any who should give information of such an attempt. The officers were induced to sign an address to the general, in which they promised, for themselves and their soldiers, to render implicit obedience to the orders of his Excellency, of the Council of State, or of the parliament about to assemble; and to abstain from all meetings and remonstrances. Those who refused were cashiered, and replaced by royalist gentlemen or nobles.

All seemed ready, and they waited for nothing more than the arrival of the 25th of April, 1660, the day on which the new parliament was to open, when it was ascertained that Lambert had escaped from the Tower. He was missed for a short time in London, where he concealed himself at first; but they soon learned that he had arrived in the county of Warwick, where he had previously appointed some of his friends to meet him, and was beginning to draw around him the troops of the neighbourhood. The disaffection appeared general; to make sure of the soldiers, an attempt was made to oblige them to sign the address of the officers, but they deserted in troops. The army in London alone remained entire, or at least had lost only two soldiers; but it would not have been safe to trust to it; and Monk was careful to be dissuaded from the resolution which he had announced of marching in person against Lambert. He sent Ingoldsby in pursuit of him, and remained in London, where the crisis required other cares of him. Resuming, in this moment of danger, the decision which was natural to him whenever it

became necessary, he sent for Sir John Greenville, and said to him, "If Ingoldsby is beaten, and the army revolts to Lambert, I shall declare for the king, publish my commission, and raise all the royalists to arms in England, Scotland, and Ireland; be in readiness to receive orders." It was at this time also that he wrote to the king to thank him, and to engage himself formally in his service. His letter was forthwith conveyed to Breda, by Bernard Grenville, Sir John's nephew.

On Easter eve, the 21st of April, 1660,* four days after Lambert's escape, Ingoldsby was at Northampton, with whatever faithful troops he could muster, the county militia, and a hundred royalist gentlemen, under the command of the Earl of Exeter. The next day they marched on Daventry, where they had learned that Lambert was, surrounded by people who had hastily gathered round him; a disorderly troop, who were still undecided as to the course they were to take. Whilst Lambert was retreating, and Ingoldsby hastening to come up with him, some scouts met Captain Haslerig, son of Sir Arthur, who, either discontented with Lambert, or despairing of the success of his undertaking, had just quitted him, but alone, and leaving his company with Lambert. He was taken prisoner, but afterwards released upon promising to make his company desert. At length they overtook Lambert, posted behind a small brook, which separated the two armies. He had only seven ill-formed squadrons of cavalry, and a very small body of infantry. Some of his men advanced, but singly, and without any intention of making an attack. Ingoldsby forbade his men to quit their ranks, and mingling with those of Lambert in the garb of a simple horse-soldier, and without being recognized by any of them, he spoke to them of the danger to which they were exposing themselves. Twenty-five of Lambert's cavalry, with a quartermaster at their head, passed over to Ingoldsby's side, but refused to take part with him: they were deprived for the moment of their horses and arms, which were afterwards returned to them. This sort of parley lasted for nearly four hours; neither were desirous to begin the action. At length, Ingoldsby gave the order to charge; his infantry fired, and wounded two of Lambert's men. The latter advanced at a quick march, ordering his men not to fire until they were close upon the enemy; but when they arrived

* According to the old style, still in use in England at that period.

within pistol shot, they halted and lowered their arms. The company of Haslerig's son passed over to the other side under the command of a quartermaster, whom, out of shame, he had directed to execute the promised treason in his stead; another company followed his example. In that moment of irresolution which precedes flight, Ingoldsby rode up to Lambert and said, "You are my prisoner." Lambert asked to treat, but was refused; he then solicited at least liberty to escape. "Do what you like with us, but let him go," said Axtell, Okey, and the other officers who still surrounded him; "What will it serve you to destroy him?" Refused again, Lambert put his horse to a gallop to escape; but Ingoldsby, dashing off in pursuit, soon was close upon him, pistol in hand, calling on him to surrender, or he was a dead man. Lambert had too often failed of success, and no hope now sustained him; his courage abandoned him; he stopped, vainly demanded his liberty, then surrendered, and was brought back to the Tower, in less than a week after he had quitted it.

About this time, several officers came to propose to Monk to accomplish themselves what he was about to effect without them. They engaged to make the army declare for the king, and thus to render their part more honourable and their condition better. Monk no longer had need of them, and did not wish to make use of them; so he replied by his usual declarations of submission to the decision of the parliament. At length, on the 25th of April, the parliament met*; the House of Lords also assembled, composed of those of its former members who had sat until the trial of Charles I. Monk received from both houses the title of captain-general of the land forces, and also solemn thanks, to which he replied by recommending them to attend less to the past than to the future. The 1st of May was the day fixed for deliberating upon the government which it was best to give to the three nations; and, in the interval, Greenville presented himself at the door of the Council of State, demanding to speak with General Monk. Monk, informed of this by Colonel Birch, one of the members of the council, went to the door, where Greenville gave into his hands the official letter, which had been addressed to him by the king, to be by him communicated to the Council of State and the officers of the army.

* Monk took his seat as member for Devonshire.

Monk scarcely looked at Greenville, cast his eyes upon the seal of the letter, feigned surprise, and returned to the council, commanding Greenville, in a severe tone, to wait, and ordering his guards to watch that he did not escape. The council, more surprised than Monk had been, had an animated debate about the course they should take in reference to this letter. Birch, in alarm, protested that he had informed the general without suspecting anything of the kind. Greenville, on being introduced and questioned as to the origin of this letter, replied that he had received it at Breda, from the king his master. They were about to commit him to prison, but Monk answered for his safe-keeping, and it was decided that the letter should not be opened until the meeting of parliament.

At length, on the 1st of May, 1660, this long-continued farce, which had ceased to deceive any one, came to an end. Greenville appeared successively before both houses, as bearer of the king's letters and of the declaration of Breda, drawn up on the basis which Monk had indicated in his instructions to Sir John. The king, immediately acknowledged with eagerness in both houses, was proclaimed at London on the 8th of May, in the midst of shouts, bonfires, and all that uproar of victory which, for a moment, scarcely permits us to suspect the existence of a vanquished and discontented party. But already Monk, anxious to get rid of the burden with which he felt himself laden, had despatched Sir John Greenville back to Breda. By his exertions, the sum of fifty thousand pounds sterling, which had been voted to the king for the expenses of his journey home, and borrowed of the city, was furnished within two days; ten thousand in gold, and the rest in bills of exchange on Amsterdam, payable at sight. Greenville took them with him, and Monk secretly directed Admiral Montague to cruise off the coast of Holland with his fleet. The parliamentary commissioners, when they set out on the 13th of May, to convey to the king the vote of the two houses, were rather offended because the Admiral had only left a convoy to escort them across; and, in order to pacify their ill-humour, it was necessary to produce an antedated order from the king to Montague. As early as the 5th of May, an address from the army had been entrusted to Clarges to convey it to Breda, from whence he returned with the title of Sir Thomas Clarges, the first

of the numerous promotions which were to accompany the restoration.

Every one now hurried towards the new fountain of fortune. The roads were thronged by Cavaliers, hastening to demand the reward of their constant services; by royalists of a later date, who were anxious to make the king forget their recent adhesion to his cause; and by men of all sorts, who had a fortune either to make or to preserve. Every imagination was in movement, every hope was entertained, and every means attempted. Ten thousand pounds sterling were offered to Monk, in exchange for the appointment of a Secretary of State, reserved for Morrice. Lenthall, the speaker of the Long Parliament, who had made his power subservient to his fortune, sent the king a present of three thousand pounds sterling, with a request that he would continue him in the office of Master of the Rolls; but he soon after learned that he had been already deprived of it, and that the place was promised to another. In this active competition, everything became a marketable commodity; and cupidity, party spirit, and popular improvidence, vied with each other in setting aside all regard for public interests, so as to give free course to the torrent of new pretensions which was on the point of inundating all beside. In vain did the men who had begun the revolution and had just contributed towards terminating it, although rather more quickly than they wished, endeavour to obtain some of its fruits; in vain, while representing the return of the king as the restoration of the laws and liberties of the land, did they attempt to call attention to the securities of which these stood in need; their efforts daily became more timid, and their own passions plunged them into the current which they wished to stem. Hollis, Maynard, Annesley, and all the leaders of the Presbyterian party had, like the Cavaliers, personal injuries to avenge; and of all the feelings which then animated them, the most violent was their hatred for the republicans and Independents, those last enemies, whose outrages they had so recently experienced. By their carefulness to renounce all connexion with them, they deprived themselves of the remnant of strength which might have been afforded them by a conquered but obstinate party, and retained only power enough to crush it. The Presbyterians, in the early days of the restoration, distinguished themselves only by their bitterness in pursuing the

regicides, and by the futility of their efforts to rally a party in opposition to the reaction of the Cavaliers. Some few, during the time which elapsed before the return of the king, attempted to induce Monk to use, for the liberty of his country, the power which still remained entire in his hands. But it was difficult to offer him advantages superior to those which he had reason to expect from complete submission, and which he had determined to deserve. He resolutely declined their proposal, and in the House of Commons opposed every attempt of the kind. At the time of the debate on the instructions to the commissioners whom the parliament was to send to the king, he had strongly advised them to merit his majesty's favour by trusting to his generosity. The commissioners were despatched with no other mission than to invite Charles to resume his royal functions; and the opposition, thus informed of its powerlessness, had consented to avoid the danger of a useless defence. But, when from general they passed to personal questions, when they began to deliberate upon the list of those who were to be excepted from the amnesty, Monk, as little influenced by party hatred as by patriotic anxiety, strove to moderate the fury of vengeance or of meanness, and succeeded in reducing the exceptions to seven instead of the larger number which his opponents endeavoured to make it. He had, it it said, pledged himself to obtain an absolute pardon; and when Lord Say spoke to him of the necessity for an act of amnesty, from which some of the king's judges alone should be excepted, "Not a man!" Monk exclaimed in an angry tone; "for if I should suffer such a thing, I should be the arrantest rogue that ever lived." "Let me be damned body and soul," likewise said Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper to Colonel Hutchinson, "if ever I see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate, upon this quarrel." But supposing that such declarations were sincere, Monk and Ashley Cooper soon found themselves in presence of a reaction too powerful to be resisted by their cautious and egotistical wisdom.*

* Monk had been reproached for his acquiescence in the vengeance taken at the restoration, and especially for his participation in the condemnation of the regicides who were excepted from the amnesty. My excellent friend, Mr. Hallam, with his ordinary impartiality and high-mindedness, has reduced this accusation to its true worth. "Monk," he says, "certainly did not satisfy the king, even in his first promises of support, when he advised an absolute indemnity, and the preservation of

Monk had not yet reached his last sacrifice. On the 23rd of May he received the king on the beach at Dover; and, notwithstanding the grateful reception given him by Charles, who embraced him, and called him his father, such was the humility of his deportment at this first meeting, that, according to the panegyric of one of his biographers, he seemed rather to be imploring his pardon than receiving thanks. However, in spite of these external forms, Monk was conscious of the authority vested in him by his position, and while relinquishing the power into hands so unused to its management, he thought it right to give some advice, or at least, some information. Accordingly, when on the same day the king had arrived at Canterbury, and was delivered from the selfish crowds to whose demands rather than congratulations he had to listen, Monk entered, and, without imagining that he ought to excuse himself to his majesty for so great presumption, told him that he thought he could not do him a better service than by pointing out to him the men who were best adapted to serve the country. He thereupon presented him with a list which Charles, in surprise and alarm, put into his pocket, without venturing to discuss a piece of advice which he was disposed to consider in the light of an order. Terrified by the torrent of royalist pretensions which had just burst upon him without either modesty or restraint, he thought himself besieged at the same time by the exactions of the revolutionists, and a prey to all the embarrassments of royalty. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, arrived; and Charles read the list with him. The chancellor was in even greater consternation than his master; for there

actual interests in the lands of the crown and church. In the first debates on the bill of indemnity, when the case of the regicides came into discussion, he pressed for the smallest number of exceptions from pardon." (Hallam, Constitutional History of England, ed. 1827, vol. ii. p. 161.) Lord Wharncliffe, in his translation of this work, adopts and confirms Mr. Hallam's opinion by many irrefragable proofs. Among others, he quotes Ludlow, who, in spite of his hatred of Monk, specially says, in reference to the debate which arose in the parliament on the question of the regicides, "Some proposed that all might be excepted, others would be contented with twenty, and many with thirteen; but Monk, who had betrayed them all, expressing his desires to be for moderation, they were reduced to nine, which that *boute-feu* Prynne, contrary to the orders of the House, undertook to name. Yet I was so far obliged to him, that my name was not upon his list. Monk at last prevailed with the House to bring the number to seven." (Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1751, p. 346.)

was not a man upon this list who had served the king, except the Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Southampton, both known to have no need of recommendation to his favour. Beside them were placed the Presbyterian leaders, and almost all the notable men of that national party which had been formed, during the early years of the revolution, by a hatred of despotism and the necessity of resisting it. Monk had added to these a few of those men whom the course of events had raised from an inferior station to the management of public affairs. These men had governed the country; they had shared in its fortunes; they knew it, and were known by it. It was to these, in his opinion, that a new king should address himself, as he was surrounded by advisers as foreign as himself to the interests which had for twenty years agitated the nation. Monk did not anticipate the ridiculous difficulties which would enter into public affairs in the train of a king and court which had long been absent from the country, any more than the king and his minister, Hyde, could comprehend a man so careless of what was due to royalty, and of the ancient usages of the monarchy. But they still feared the old general; and the greater was his power, the more did it appear dangerous either to submit to it or to reject it. After some deliberation, it was resolved that the chancellor should seek out Morrice, Monk's principal confidant, with whom he was not yet acquainted, and represent to him the great discredit which such strange selections would do to the king's judgment or dignity, if it were imagined that he had allowed them to be imposed upon him by the general. Morrice, surprised in his turn at the effect produced by this list, which had been written by his hand, and probably at his suggestion, protested the innocence of the general's intentions, and speedily returned, on his part, to beg the king to attach no importance to these recommendations, the majority of which were destined merely to fulfil Monk's word towards persons to whom he had not been able to avoid promising his services; and to protest that from that day forth his chief desire, in all the propositions which he might venture to make, would be, that they should in no wise interfere with his majesty's freedom of choice. Charles and his minister began to perceive that they had not much to fear from a tutelage which had at first alarmed them. Meanwhile a little more knowledge of the country soon taught them to pay less attention to their aversions; and Monk's

recommendation obtained all the weight that could be granted it by aristocratic pride and the dignity of royal rancour. As for himself, he received on the following day the order of the garter, and was admitted to the council; soon after, he was invested with the rank of lieutenant-general of the armies of the three kingdoms; and from among the offices under the crown offered to his choice he took that of Master of the Horse. Lastly, he was created Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington, Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees; and to the pensions annexed by his letters patent* to these high dignities, there was added a perpetual annuity of seven thousand pounds sterling, in lands taken from the domains of the crown; while, in order to retain him more continually near the king, he was appointed a gentleman of the bedchamber.

Charles had strongly felt the necessity of attaching to himself the only man capable of restraining the army, which was still on foot, and more discontented than ever. Amid the din of acclamations, the review of the troops at Blackheath had not presented a very encouraging aspect. Those veteran soldiers, and those officers of the old army, whose frozen demeanour announced only obedience, presented to the king's eyes an immoveable but irreconcileable body, which could awake from its coldness only to turn against him. In reality this apparent calmness concealed a deep-seated anger, which daily became more violent. An army which had ever been victorious, and but lately had ruled the country, did not yield without murmuring to that vanquished party which suddenly reappeared on all sides to occupy the first ranks. The soldiers thought they were humiliated, and felt they were disdained. The aristocratic pride of that swarm of royalists, who had been transformed by the restoration into courtiers, thrust back into obscurity those men who had lately obtained or hoped for some renown. The free and noisy manners of the Cavaliers was an insult to the rather awkward stiffness of

* In these letters patent, which were drawn up in Latin, after a pompous enumeration of all the services rendered by Monk to England and to the king, we read this characteristic phrase: "Hæc omnia, prudentiâ ac felicitate summâ, *victor sine sanguine*, perfecit." It was Monk's dominant thought to accomplish the restoration of the monarchy *without bloodshed*; and this phrase in his letters-patent proves that this was also his principal title to glory in the eyes of his contemporaries.

the old officers, who felt embarrassed by their situation, and restrained by their habits; and the disorders gloried in by these licentious youths were the scandal of a party who were sedate even in their follies. On the day of the king's arrival, some one, seeing a brilliant troop of volunteers pass by, who, decorated with feathers and scarfs, were going to meet him, said to Monk, "You had none of these at Coldstream; but grasshoppers and butterflies never come abroad in frosty weather." The soldiers held in contempt the new officers whom Monk during the last few days had placed at the head of several regiments. Their meetings became frequent, and their language violent; but Monk overawed them, and no leader was in a position to raise against him even an inconsiderable force. The malcontents several times formed plans for assassinating him, or at least were suspected of doing so. Nothing but plots was talked of. Spies were dispersed in all quarters, and paid at once by both parties, whom they betrayed alike.

Charles, alarmed at this temper of the troops, and weary of the circumspection he was compelled to use by a power not yet entirely within his hands, longed for the time when he could disband the army; and Monk, ready for everything, carefully avoided any suspicion of the least repugnance to a measure which would put an end to his importance. At length the disbanding was voted, and accomplished without difficulty. Before it was quite completed, there broke out in London the insurrection of Venner, a fifth-monarchy-man, who, at the head of some fifty enthusiasts, rushed at midnight into the street, crying as a watchword, "God and Gideon," and calling to the citizens, in the full persuasion that all would follow him, and re-establish the reign of the Lord. The boldness of these men and their heroic resistance struck the court with alarm, and appeared to the general's friends a good reason why he should at least demand the maintenance of his regiment of guards, which had shown great zeal on the occasion. He refused to concur in a demand which he said would be wrongly interpreted; and all they could obtain from him was, that he would not oppose their solicitations, which, in fact, saved the regiment. Monk declared to the parliament that he had already given his orders that, until the disbanding was entirely accomplished, no soldier should be enlisted into any corps, and no officers commissioned, to replace those who might die

or be discharged. He obtained, for all those who were disbanded, the right of entering into such commercial corporations as they might choose. But though he thus insured to them some means of subsistence, which they nearly all adopted with remarkable resignation and fortitude, he could not appease the bitter feelings of their hearts against a general who had so ostentatiously renounced them.

After the disbanding of the army, Monk retained no influence beyond that which he derived from his aptitude to business, and from a devotedness, the humble reserve of which rendered his counsels as convenient as they might sometimes be useful. During the earlier years, his knowledge of men and things contributed, in as great a degree as his power, to insure him a considerable share in the government; and the Secretary of State, Nicolas, a man of business, who had been attached to his royal masters for thirty years, said, "That if the general had not been an instrument in the king's restoration, yet he deserved all the bounties his majesty had bestowed upon him, for his services after the king's return." He declined no proof of devotedness. Being appointed one of the commissioners charged to try the regicides, he did nothing either to aggravate or to moderate the severity of the prosecutions; and co-operated shortly after in the condemnation of the Marquis of Argyll, with a disgraceful abandonment of his own honour. He felt no partiality for the marquis, whose skill in intrigue had been constantly employed for the purpose of disturbing the tranquillity of his administration in Scotland; and he had injured him more than once with Cromwell. But between these two cautious men the mutual wish to do each other mischief was rarely displayed; and the letters of the marquis to Monk in particular were full of protestations of attachment to the government of the Protector. When, after the restoration in 1661, Argyll was arrested in London, and taken back to Scotland, to be there tried on a charge of high treason, he was accused of participation in the death of Charles I., and of a formal and active adhesion to Cromwell's government. The proofs did not appear sufficient, and the party who were anxious to destroy Argyll feared they would lose their victim. The Earls of Glencairn and Rothes repaired to London with all speed, to excite Monk and Clarendon in the affair, and deprive the marquis of the support given him by the Earl of Lauderdale. The Scottish parliament was

in session for the trial, and on the point of proceeding to discuss the evidence, when a loud knock at the door announced some important messenger. It was a courier from London, bearing a packet for the parliament. By the haste of the messenger, who moreover happened to belong to the Campbell clan, it was thought that he brought either a pardon or a reprieve; but when the packet was opened, it was found to contain Argyll's letters to Monk—an evidence of the insufficiency of human prudence. Monk, on being intreated to give them up, had desired to wait until they should appear absolutely necessary; and "having been informed," as he said, "of the want of proofs," he had hastened to forward them to the parliament. They dispelled all hesitation. Argyll was condemned on the next day, and Monk received, doubtless with his habitual humility, the congratulations and thanks of the court.*

Henceforward the court was too sure of Monk to think it necessary to treat him with deference. His advice, though generally good, was seldom followed; he withdrew it without ill-temper or persistence, and, though never eager to offer, never refused to give it. Careful not to encroach upon the jurisdiction of others, he took no pains to defend his own against the inroads of any man who was powerful or in favour. His behaviour was that of a courtier who has his fortune to make with everybody; and everybody knew that money could atone for many wrongs, with the Duke of Albemarle. He was even accused of allowing himself to be too easily blinded with regard to the profits derived by his wife from the nomination to appointments in the royal stables, of which he had the disposal. The manners and habits of the duchess, more vulgar and less simple than those of her husband, were the laughing-stock of a witty and jocular court, and cast a shade of ridicule over the life of the old general, which a person held in far greater respect would have found considerable difficulty in resisting.

Though he was always constant in his attendance at the

* Lord Wharncliffe, who had quoted and discussed the various testimonies upon which is based this account of Monk's conduct in Argyll's trial, has attempted, though with some timidity, to lessen their value, and to exculpate, or at least excuse, Monk. But his reasonings do not appear to me conclusive; and the unworthiness of Monk's procedure in this case remains, in my opinion, undeniable.

Privy Council and the House of Lords, Monk was imperceptibly disappearing from public life, when at the end of 1661, he fell dangerously ill. Such had been the strength of his constitution that, in his younger days, he had been seen, during a campaign, to recover from the small-pox, almost without being absent for a single day from his place at the head of his company. But for some time past he had appeared to become prematurely feeble, and this first attack of a disease under which he was destined to sink, a few years after, left him subject to painful infirmities. Attacked by asthma, and disposed to lethargy and drowsiness, he seemed to have abandoned the activity which was, perhaps, necessary to him, when an unforeseen occurrence revived the energy which still lay hid in his heavy and failing body. In 1664, England declared war against Holland, and the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral, when he left to take command of the fleet, had placed the administration of the Admiralty in Monk's hands. He devoted himself to his new employment with all his natural taste for business; but, almost contemporaneously with the war, another scourge had begun its ravages in London—the plague, which, taken little notice of at its outset, and suspended by the cold of winter, broke out in the spring of 1665 with so much violence, that an inexpressible terror seized upon all the inhabitants. The rich fled; the poor died, to the number of from six to ten thousand a-week. The royal family left London; the parliament was summoned to Oxford; the courts of justice were also transferred thither; and the greater number of men in authority abandoned all to escape from contagion. Monk remained, and having been invested by the king with the government of the town, he provided for all wants, and braved all dangers, receiving at any hour and without difficulty all who had business with him; and seconded by the courageous charity of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Craven, who, like himself, had devoted themselves to the service of the desolated populace, he established order amidst this terrible confusion, saved deserted property from pillage, rescued from famine those unfortunates whose destitution prevented them from going to die of hunger elsewhere, and was, in fine, the preserver of London. He thus regained that popularity which he well knew how to deserve whenever, liberated from all temptation to be complaisant to power, he

found himself, influenced only by his reason and his love of order, in presence of the rights and wants of men.

In the midst of this activity, new exigencies claimed his assistance. The war with Holland still continued, but the Duke of York was no longer in command of the British forces. After a brilliant affair and a doubtful adventure, he had been withdrawn from command of the fleet, under the pretext of fraternal apprehension of the dangers to which the presumptive heir to the crown was exposed. The Earl of Sandwich, who had succeeded him, had just been disgraced for an irregularity greatly aggravated by the profit which he had derived from it. Admiral Lawson was dead. There remained none but Monk, to whom the honour of the English navy could be confided. The king resolved to divide the command between him and Prince Rupert. Some doubt was felt whether Monk would consent to this association; and Clarendon, who was directed to communicate to him the king's intentions, mentioned them at first with some timidity. Monk, in fact, appeared disturbed and uncertain; he even observed that, if the plague continued, he would, perhaps, be more useful in London than anywhere else. Clarendon insisted; Monk withdrew every objection; and they went together to the king. Monk still retained his thoughtful and embarrassed air, and suddenly said to the chancellor that "he would tell him now what the true cause was that had made that pause in him upon the first discourse of the business, and that it would be necessary for him, after all things should be adjusted with the king, and duke, and Prince Rupert, that what concerned him should still remain a secret, and Prince Rupert be understood to command alone; for if his wife should come to know it before he had by degrees prepared her for it, she would break out into such passions as would be very uneasy to him; but he would in a short time dispose her well enough: and in the mean time nothing should be omitted on his part that was necessary for the advancement of the service."

His wish was complied with, and his appointment remained for some days a secret; but as soon as it became known, as soon as he was seen, with his quiet and indefatigable activity, surveying the preparations for the cruise, providing rigging, provisions, and ammunition, the sailors came in crowds to offer their services; "for they were sure," they said, "that

honest George would see them well fed and justly paid." The fleet put to sea at the end of April, 1665, and, one month afterwards, during three consecutive days, Monk, first alone, and afterwards in conjunction with Prince Rupert, engaged the Dutch, under the command of Ruyter, in the most furious actions ever sustained by either nation. The issue remained doubtful, although, on the whole, more unfavourable to the English than to their adversaries; but Monk's bravery was displayed in so brilliant a manner as to strike with admiration, and even with some fear, the nearest spectators. On the first appearance of the Dutch fleet, Monk had only a portion of his own with him, and some of his officers seemed not altogether devoid of doubt with regard to the consequences of an abrupt engagement: "At least," said he, "I am sure of one thing, that I will not be taken;" and, says the young Duke of Buckingham, who served on board his ship, "when we spied him charging a very little pistol and putting it in his pocket, we could imagine no reason for it except his having taken a resolution of going down into the powder-room to blow up the ship in case at any time it should be in danger of being taken; and therefore we, in a laughing way, most meritoriously resolved to throw him overboard in case we should ever catch him going down to the powder-room."

After four months' cruise, however, it became necessary to put back to the coast of England, to refit the disabled fleet, and Monk was at anchor in St. Helen's Bay, near Spithead, when he received the news of the terrible fire which, on the 2nd of September, 1666, reduced nearly the whole of the city of London to ashes. The king, the court, the magistrates, and the people, were all panic-stricken and stupified; the most absurd suspicions and strangest rumours were circulated and believed with reference to the causes of this disaster, and in the midst of the extravagant ravings of the popular imagination and displeasure, which ascribed all their misfortunes to the carelessness or incapacity of the government, the exclamation was heard, "Ah! if old George had been here, the city would not have been burnt." The king hastened to recall him to employ him in repairing the effects of the catastrophe; and in the following year when the Dutch, who had learned to despise, if not the English people, at least their masters, made a descent upon Chatham,

burnt nineteen vessels, and threatened London itself, it was Monk again who set out immediately, at the head of a few companies, to repel this audacious aggression. The Dutch re-embarked, but not, however, so soon but that the Duke of Albemarle, who had advanced to their out-posts, heard their balls whistle past his ears, One of his officers besought him to retreat a little. "Sir," said Monk, "if I had been afraid of bullets, I should have quitted this trade of a soldier long ago."

He had, however, made his last campaign, On his return from this expedition, his infirmities, and especially his asthma and threatenings of dropsy, redoubled in violence; he felt himself incapable of exertion, and retired to his property of New Hall, in Essex, rather to die in the peaceful repose of the country than with the hope of obtaining any alleviation of his sufferings. He paid little attention to his physicians, refused to use their remedies, and having for some years been melancholy without mentioning it or explaining its causes to any one, he merely replied to Gumble, who was still his chaplain, and who exhorted him to take care of his health, "Why should I desire to live?" However, while at New Hall, one of his neighbours, formerly an officer in his army, recommended him to take some pills, which, it was said, were a sovereign cure for dropsy, and which were sold at Bristol by a man named Salmon, who also had served under his orders in Scotland as a private soldier. This advice and remedy from old comrades inspired the old general with more confidence than the knowledge of the doctors. He sent for some of Salmon's pills, and for some time found them so beneficial, that he returned to London towards the end of the summer. But not long after his arrival, during the latter part of December, 1669, the dropsy made alarming progress, and Monk, too intrepid to lose on this occasion his habit of seeing things as they were, announced himself that he had only a short time to live. One last piece of business he had much at heart: the marriage of his son Christopher with Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, grand-daughter of the Duke of Newcastle. He hastened its completion with the same activity, and the same minute solicitude, that he would have devoted to it in perfect health, and on the 30th of December the marriage was actually celebrated in his room, which he was no longer able to leave. Nothing thenceforward could

rouse him from his indifference to others as well as to himself; his friends tried to induce him to recommend his family to the favour of the king, who came to see him almost daily. "It is useless," he said; "I do not doubt the kindness of the king for me and mine." He listened apathetically to the discourses of Gumble, who took pains to prepare him for his approaching end, and spoke of his death with great composure to his friends, whom he still continued to receive. At length, on the 3rd of January, 1670, about nine o'clock in the morning, while he was sitting silently in his chair, he sighed, turned his head aside, and expired. He was a man capable of great things, although he possessed no greatness of soul; born at once to command and to serve; sensible, patient, and bold; attached to his own interest, but devoted also, on every great occasion, to his duty as a soldier and an Englishman; and who, devoid of political ambition and with no pretensions to govern his country, was able to recognize and restore to it that government with which it could not dispense.

He was buried at Westminster, among the tombs of the kings, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. Charles II. in person accompanied his funeral procession. No monument was erected to his memory; the effigy used at his funeral is, however, still in existence, clothed in his armour, and preserved in a wooden case. His son Christopher, after having wasted, in a life of scandalous profligacy, the immense fortune* left him by his father, and lost the credit which he owed to his name, died childless, in 1688, at Jamaica, of which island he was governor.

* Besides his great possessions in landed and personal property, Monk, it is said, left his son 400,000*l.* sterling in money.

APPENDIX.

(1.)—RICHARD CROMWELL TO MONK.

(With this superscription: *For His Excellency the Lord General Monk.*)

MY LORD, April 18, 1660.

ALTHOUGH I cannot suppose you altogether unacquainted with my present condition, nor insensible to what my friends have represented to you concerning it; but being urged by my present exigencies, and necessitated for some time of late to retire into hiding-places to avoid arrests for debts contracted upon the public account, I have been encouraged from the persuasion I have had of your affection to me, and the opportunities you now have to show me kindness, to add this request to the former solicitations of my friends, that, when the parliament shall be met, you would make use of your interest on my behalf, that I be not left liable to debts which, I am confident, neither God nor conscience can ever reckon mine. I cannot but promise myself that, when it shall be seasonable, I shall not want a faithful friend in you to take effectual care of my concernments; having this persuasion of you, that as I cannot but think myself unworthy of great things, so you will not think me worthy of utter ruin.

My Lord, I am your affectionate friend to serve you,

R. CROMWELL.

(2.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 5, 1659.

IF my last letters have not been detained in England, they will have prepared your Eminence to receive without surprise some news of what has happened here since the first of this month. It is true that the evil did not appear so pressing, and that it was still hoped, on that very day, to find some way of accommodation; but the leaders of the army, finding that they were being amused by negociations, whilst the friends of the Protector* were pressing the parlia-

* Richard Cromwell.

ment to take resolutions tending to his establishment and their ruin, judged it fitting to provide for their own safety, and to do by force what they could not obtain by fair means. With this intent, on Thursday, at midnight, they placed the troops under arms in the neighbourhood of Whitehall; and the principal men among them having met together in St. James's, without admitting to their council those who were known to be well intentioned to the court, they sent Major-General Desborough, with a dozen officers, to demand of the Protector that he should himself dissolve the parliament on the next day. These deputies found him with a few officers who were his friends, and already informed of the resolution taken by the council of war, but also deprived of the confidence which he had had in some regiments, all the subordinate officers of which had abandoned their colonels to join other corps; to that degree even, that a squadron of cavalry refused to follow their captain, who was leading them to Whitehall. Although the Protector was aware of this general alienation, and that his friends had scarcely been able to find two hundred men, in all the troops, willing to follow them, he did not cease to display boldness, and to declare that he would suffer all kinds of violence rather than grant the request which had been made to him. This refusal obliged the said General Desborough to come to threats, and to let him know that he was not in a position to defer, even for an hour, the resolution which the army had taken; leaving him, nevertheless, the liberty, if he would not go in person to dissolve the parliament, to grant a commission, for that purpose, to some member of his council. His Highness, seeing the necessity inevitable, and those who were with him having agreed that they must submit to force, after having given some signs of his displeasure and repugnance, promised that which he could not refuse. The said General Desborough and the other deputies retired upon this promise, and went to await its performance in a neighbouring house, where the Secretary of State brought to them, between two and three o'clock in the morning, the orders addressed to the Keeper of the Seal. In the meanwhile, some companies of cavalry and infantry entered into the courtyard of Whitehall, and there conducted themselves with considerable license, especially in the cellars, and there were also many comings and goings; and they say that it was agreed not entirely to destroy the Protector, but to let him govern with

the council which will be given to him, without however allowing him to meddle with the army, which remains in London and near Whitehall, opposite to which there was a body of guards, who arrested some officers and soldiers, considered to be partisans of the court, who wished to enter. This great movement did not prevent the members of parliament from repairing to Westminster at the accustomed hour; so, when they were seated, the chief Keeper of the Seals, the president of the new House, declared the intention of His Highness and it was resolved to call in the Commons, to read to them the letters of the great seal announcing the dissolution of the parliament. But this message being sent to them by the usher of the black rod, as it had been previously determined not to receive any message from that chamber, except from one of its members, and that moreover the invitation was not very agreeable, after a debate of two hours, it was resolved to take no notice of it; and to prevent the order of dissolution being notified to them in some other way, they adjourned the assembly to this day, and separated immediately. In this deliberation the violence of the officers of the army was greatly reprehended; some proposed to declare them all traitors, and others to request the concurrence of the town of London, and to assemble there. The Presbyterians, among others, appeared very animated, and General Fairfax was malignant. Some republicans also affected discontent. Nevertheless, no conclusion was arrived at; many of the deputies wishing, and having underhand fomented, the dissolution of the parliament, because they saw it was too blindly attached to the interest of the Protector.

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Some also apprehend that the troops in Scotland and Ireland disapprove of the conduct of those in England, and that my Lord Henry* and General Monk are fomenting division among them.

(3.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 8, 1659.

* * * You may still wait for the news of the next post, before you judge of the government which is to be set up in England, and of the fate of the Protector, to whom

* Henry Cromwell, Richard's younger brother, who commanded in Ireland.

these divisions leave some hope: if the army of Ireland or of Scotland were to declare in his favour, it would be better founded. The officers here are persuaded that neither the one nor the other, and especially the latter, will take up his quarrel; and, nevertheless, the courtiers expect much from General Monk. * * * *

(4.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 12, 1659.

* * * THE sentiments of the troops in Scotland and Ireland will decide the question. It is still spoken about with uncertainty, and no one can yet have received any news, although these last few days a report has been current that my Lord Henry was in the same condition as the Protector, that is, under a species of arrest. The royalists are, meanwhile, full of great hopes, and it is true that a little assistance would be sufficient to secure their success. Some of them flatter themselves that the Protector and his party are not far removed from joining them. * * *

(5.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, August 25, 1659.

* * * THE tranquillity of Scotland is complete, and General Monk has been ordered to send two regiments into England. * * *

(6.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, September 29, 1659.

* * * GENERAL MONK, esteemed one of the best officers in the army, has lately requested permission to retire, under the pretext of business and ill-health, but, in all probability, because he is not well satisfied. His friends have prevented his letter from being read in the parliament, and wish to retain him in the service. * * *

(7.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, October 13, 1659.

* * * THE officers will no longer be dependent upon the parliament, but upon a Council of War: this was the subject of their quarrel with the last Protector, and the cause of his ruin. No doubt is felt but that the troops in Scotland and Ireland enter into the feelings of those in England; and

General Monk has yielded to the request of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, that he should remain in the service. * *

(8.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, October 20, 1659.

* * * THE republicans have striven all these days to gain over some officers to their side, to make them sign a declaration contrary to that of the Council of War, composed of 230 officers of all ranks; and some, among others the colonels recently restored, have shown themselves sufficiently disposed to disavow the proceedings of the majority. They even reckon upon the army in Scotland, because two days ago General Monk wrote to the parliament that he had prevented the requisition of the Northern brigade from being subscribed by the troops under his command; and it is said that both parties have dispatched messengers into Scotland to gain over this leader, and to get the officers either to approve or disavow the last propositions. * * *

(9.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, October 30, 1659.

THERE is as yet no Government established in England, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made for this long while by the leaders of the army, and some ministers of the Council of State, to agree to one. They had indeed projected to form a secret council, with a senate of seventy, and to recall the parliament to make it authorize this establishment, revoke the acts of the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd of September, provide for the payment of the troops, and pass some regulations. But at the meeting which was held yesterday evening at the house of the Speaker of this body, for the purpose of concerting these propositions with the deputies, before restoring the power into their hands, they could not agree, the greater number refusing to receive orders from the army: already even many of them have retired, as well as nine members of the Council. The others continue to meet: one of their principal cares has been to dispose the judges to perform their functions, and they must sit until the twentieth of next month, parliament having given them commission only until that time. The Council of War has, meanwhile, made Lambert major-general of all the forces, and Colonel Desborough, the uncle of the last Protector, commissary-

general of the cavalry; it has also sent messengers on its part into Scotland, Ireland, and all the garrisons, to make sure of the commanders, or to dispose of them. Some doubt whether Generals Monk and Ludlow will change their views so easily, and there even appears to be considerable difference of opinion among the officers who are in London; one party is inclined to maintain the republican government, and opposes the resolutions which Lambert wishes to have adopted. * * *

(10.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, November 3, 1659.

* * * IT remains for me, in order to satisfy the wish that your Eminence has to be exactly informed of the state of England, to report to you that the principal officers of the army, and some ministers of the Council of State, after different propositions and overtures of accommodation with the parliament, which met with no success, have at last resolved, on the day before yesterday, to establish a council of twenty-three persons, of whom ten are colonels, three citizens of London, and the rest members of the preceding council or of that of the Protector. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and Sir Harry Vane, are the most distinguished members of this body, and those who apparently will have all the authority, the others being persons neither possessed of a talent for governing, nor even summoned for that purpose, but only to make up the number. It is said that their establishment is merely provisional, and until they have chosen a larger number. This small body might easily continue to govern, if it is approved of by all the troops; it was to be recognized to-day by the Council of War of the officers who are in London, and in all probability the others will follow this example, although Monk, who is not one of these new ministers, has latterly again renewed the assurance of his fidelity to the parliament, which he believed still existed, and at the same time replied to Major-General Lambert, that he could not make the officers under his command subscribe to the propositions which those in England had presented to the parliament, as they were more fitted to cause division than to maintain union in the army. His letters were immediately published, and seem to have hastened the establishment of this Senate, in order that the officers in Scotland, seeing a

government constituted and the parliament dissolved, may give up the idea of taking its part. * * *

(11.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, November 6, 1659.

SINCE the letter which I did myself the honour to write to your Eminence on the 3rd of this month, no great progress has been made in the establishment of the gove nment of England, and we can still speak of it with only very little certainty, since the letters which arrived from Scotland on the evening of the day before yesterday, assure us that General Monk persists in his resolution in favour of the parliament, and that the news of its dissolution had no sooner reached him than he assembled the officers of his troops, declared to them his intentions, and, having found that their opinions were conformable to his own, ordered them to hold themselves in readiness to march. It is even said that he arrested some Anabaptist officers less inclined to follow him than to accommodate themselves to the desires of the army. This information caused the despatch from hence yesterday morning of his brother-in-law and a colonel with some propositions, and in the evening another messenger was sent to declare to him that it had been determined to give him battle if he cannot be brought to hear reason; it has already been even proposed to go and meet him, and decide the quarrel promptly; but he is too far advanced to draw back, and threats do not seem to be able to alarm him, as he is a very determined man. His troops may be more tractable, and prefer reconciliation to the uncertain success of a battle; this is also the principal reliance of the army in England. * * * * The cabal of the Millenarians prevails in the army, among whom Mr. Lambert is greatly decried for having no religion, or show of it, in which last alone he differs from the most of them. His reputation still maintains him in credit in the minds of the soldiers, and most honest persons in the army; and the number of these being small, his position is tolerably precarious, as well as is that of the republic, the forces of which are divided into two parties, some being friends of the parliament, and the others of those who dissolved it. These last are again very different in their sentiments. The Millenarians and Anabaptists wish to keep the government to themselves, and Fleetwood in-

clines to their side; Lambert and his faction, perceiving that they are lost if the executive authority falls into the hands of these sectaries, and being no less ambitious, are striving to render themselves the masters. Until this moment this has only been done by means of intrigue; but if the army of Scotland came to an accommodation, probably there would occur some other division, and many imagine that Lambert will at length, if he loses all hope of prevailing, treat with the king of England. Others think that Monk is not less disposed to take this side, and even that, unless he had already entered into some engagement, he would not so freely have declared himself, or have left Scotland, his departure with the troops giving that nation every facility for revolt. It is further remarked that his last letter speaks, indeed, of shedding his blood, even to the last drop, for the parliament of England, but without indicating whether he means that one which has just been dissolved. These are reflections upon which no very positive measures should be taken, and we can only state that circumstances remain very favourable for the return of the prince to that army, whose leaders are least opposed to a monarchical government, and who, as they took no part in the death of the defunct king, will more easily put confidence in the promises which may be made them on the part of the present sovereign. Their greatest difficulty would be, if they were willing to embrace his cause, to influence in his favour the troops under their command, and this is not to be hoped for until they are thoroughly engaged, the one against the other; to which they have hitherto shown so much repugnance, that a reconciliation might even take place at the expense of their leaders.

(12.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, November, 10, 1659.

I SHALL continue to inform your Eminence of the sequel of the divisions of England. Since the letter which I did myself the honour to write to you by the preceding post, news have come from Scotland which confirm the report that Monk persists in his intention to re-establish the parliament; that he has arrested all the officers of his troops who held other views, even a colonel who had been sent to him from hence; that the garrisons of Berwick, Carlisle, and another fortified

castle on the frontier of England have declared for him; and that finally, he is taking every measure to strengthen himself. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood has, at the same time, received his declaration in conformity to these advices; he has also written to the churches in the same terms, promising them assistance for the maintenance of their prerogatives. This proceeding has caused the Council of War to come to a resolution to send an army of eight thousand men to give him battle, or at least to arrest his progress; and on this very day there have left London a body of infantry and cavalry drawn from the veteran troops, whose place will be supplied by new levies. Major-General Lambert will again command in this expedition, it having been judged that General Fleetwood was more necessary in the town to maintain peace. Monk having in all Scotland only nine regiments of infantry and three of cavalry, will not be able to bring so many forces into the field as will be sent against him, unless he makes new levies or ungarrisons all the towns of Scotland; which would make him suspected by his troops of an understanding with the king of England, and would entirely alienate them, their inclination tending more towards the Republic than towards any other form of government. Mild measures are at the same time being practised to influence them, and there took place yesterday, at the instance of the officers here, a meeting of ministers, which resulted in their sending them four deputies, two of whom are colonels, who were cashiered when the parliament was restored. It is not an easy thing to divine what will be the success of this deputation, as this leader is very popular, and has now advanced too far to draw back. It is feared here that he will join the king's party if he does not feel himself strong enough, and that he has even already formed the plan of doing so, and only makes use of the name of the parliament to secure his troops, for he cannot have the preservation of that body so much at heart as to go to war on its account. Besides that, it is not so agreeable a cause that he must wait until no one is willing to authorize it, or he alone is able to defend it, the army in England being united, as it now appears, and having only the governor of Hull, whose inclinations are doubtful. Great umbrage has been caused by the conduct of the commandant of Ireland; he has arrived in London, and he will not be permitted to leave again. If the troops in Ireland do not follow his inclinations, and if those in England

remain constant to those which they at present exhibit, it will be necessary for Monk either to come to an accommodation or to seek assistance elsewhere. This last step would be very easy to him, the Scotch and English being quite disposed to revolt, but he must use great address in order to deceive his troops and although, according to public report, they are said to be very averse to a reconciliation, they will with difficulty be induced to fight against each other. It is also hoped here, that, Lambert being on the spot, his presence will give courage to those whom the fear of evil treatment prevents from declaring themselves in favour of the army; otherwise the war will be indefinitely prolonged, as neither the season nor the forces of England permit the undertaking of sieges in a very wild country, although some artillery has been embarked upon the Thames I have thought it right, in this doubtful conjuncture, to inform General Fleetwood that if my intervention could possibly contribute to reunion, I would exert myself with all the zeal which might be expected from the known affection of his Majesty to England He has this evening sent to thank me for this offer, without either declining or accepting it, excusing himself by the great perplexity of affairs for not having come in person to express to me the gratitude which the government could not but feel for a civility which it has not received from any other foreign minister. There is no inconvenience connected with being the first to take such a step as cannot fail to obtain the thanks of both parties; I nevertheless did not address myself to the Committee, so that my offer might not be made public; and, up to this hour, no notification has been sent to me of its establishment, which took place at the end of last week without much ceremony. Part of the ministers chosen having met in the room generally used by the council, a colonel brought and read to them the act of the army. Sir Harry Vane and two others asked time to consider if they should act, taking as a pretext for this postponement that this commission gave them a legislative power which belonged only to the parliament. Lambert wished to remove this scruple; but his reasons did not prevent them from retiring, and they have not presented themselves again to-day; whence we may infer that they are in doubt about the stability of the present government, and apprehend that Monk will prevail; it being certain that these same persons were at first for the dissolution of the parlia-

ment, and that they would not now make any difficulty about taking their seats, unless they apprehended its return, or the establishment of some authority which would prosecute them for having taken part in the government without any legitimate title for so doing. By the retirement of Sir H. Vane, this assembly finds itself greatly destitute of capable persons, and there only remains Lambert, who must set out in two days, probably not to return very soon. * * *

(13.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, November 17, 1659.

I SHALL not have to write to you to-day of the reunion of the army; there appears rather a disposition to an entire rupture, as the last advices received here state that the troops in Scotland have, with great demonstrations of joy, promised Monk to live and die with him, and that on his part he has given them reason to hope for the payment of their arrears, and has since detached some troops to take possession of Newcastle, a large town without fortifications, from whence is obtained all the coal used in England, which would render its capture very prejudicial, especially to London. Some of his letters to other towns have also been intercepted, in which he invited them to join his party, and represented London to be well-disposed towards him. To counteract these measures, Major-General Lambert set out post-haste three days ago, leaving the army in march, but without hoping that it could make haste enough to secure the frontier towns, if they had any inclination to join the said General Monk. In order to divert them from this by the example of the London militia, this body has also been requested to write a letter to that leader, inviting him to peace. But the greater part of the assembly have not yet judged it fitting to show any partiality, and seem desirous to put off a declaration until it shall more certainly appear what is his design. The public voice has maintained, during the last few days, that he is in communication with the king of England, and his enemies affect to fear something of the kind. Nevertheless, the Republicans defend him from this charge, and declare that his sole object is to re-establish the parliament. He has moreover written to the army here, in conformity with this statement. Nevertheless, whether his words do not meet with credence, or whether he judges that

necessity may lead him to adopt other sentiments, and that, if the war continues, a third party may be formed in England, new levies are being made. This precaution is the more necessary, because the city of London is beginning to hold the same views as the militia, and to change the officers whom the parliament appointed; and some of the most influential citizens even talk of having a free parliament. If Monk used the same language, he would be more readily supported; whence it follows that all sorts of means are employed to gain either him or his troops. With this view, the Committee has appointed a sub-committee to form a a government which shall meet the wishes of all parties, and disengage them honourably from the step they have taken. Sir Harry Vane has consented to be of the number of these subdelegated commissioners, although he does not publicly engage in other matters of state; but some others who had felt scruples about acting in virtue of a commission given them by the army, have become more bold; and last week there was published an act of this assembly, which continues all the officers and civil magistrates in the performance of their duties, and orders the payment of the taxes already imposed, under penalty of having to give free quarters to the soldiers. This threat has been considered extraordinary, and has given the discontented a pretext for finding fault with the present condition of England. But the Council of War feels no alarm at this, and has lately even been upon the point of suppressing tithes and the Court of Chancery, as being both a burden to the people and very unnecessary; if the wishes of the subaltern officers had been attended to, this reform would have been accomplished. The leaders must find it inconvenient to offend so many people at the present conjuncture, the sequel of which cannot clearly be foreseen; only it is probable that, if there is no secret understanding with the King of England, the quarrel will soon come to an end, and the troops will reunite, as neither are at all desirous to come to conflict with each other, and those in England have been entirely at union since the governor of Hull rejected the propositions made him by Monk, to which rejection their private enmity greatly contributed. There is nothing said about Ireland which should excite jealousy, nor about the affairs of England; and it only remains for me to subscribe myself, &c., &c., &c.

(14.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, November 20, 1659.

THE general feeling to-day appears very different to that which I described in my preceding letters. At the beginning of the week, the city of London seemed very discontented, and even inclined to press the army for a free parliament; it had also refused to write the letter to General Monk which it was requested to send, and the people daily insulted the troops, and particularly some regiments of sectaries who went on guard every night. These bad humours are now dissipated, and it is said that the mayor has promised to permit nothing that may disturb the public tranquillity, or prejudice the present government; and that this agreement has been made upon condition that those sectaries, against whom the people are greatly enraged, shall no longer be employed to guard the town; the council of citizens adopted this resolution yesterday, and having communicated it to the Committee, its terms were agreed to. At the very moment when the affair was being deliberated, there arrived letters from Monk which caused no less joy; they represent him to be disposed to treat, and he is to send four officers to manage this negociatiou, of the success of which no one doubts. There is also news that his troops have not presented themselves before Newcastle, and that those which had approached that town retired to Berwick, where the garrison declared in Monk's favour; as regards Carlisle and Tynemouth, which it was thought had followed the same example, because Haslerig's regiment was in garrison there, they have not yet declared themselves; and there appears to be complete union among the troops in England, which will doubtless abate the confidence of the others, founded upon the conviction which they entertained that some regiments here were in favour of restoring the parliament. Mention has been again made of this, in the Council of War, during the last few days, as a means for settling all differences, and it would have been resolved upon if forty members of that body had been found well-intentioned towards the army. Now that Monk has changed his views, this idea will be rejected, and the Committee will complete the work it has begun. It is even asserted that it has already determined on a form of government composed of a council of fifty, which will summon another of two hundred, and name the members to the people,

leaving them only liberty to choose them out of four hundred candidates who will be brought forward; this second body is to be changed once in every three years, and every year ten of the council of fifty will go out of office to make room for ten others to be chosen from among the two hundred. This plan has not yet been published, and before it appears, there may probably be some changes introduced into it, as the reunion or division of the army cannot but serve as a rule for the resolutions of the present government.

(15.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, November 24, 1659.

THE letters which General Monk wrote last week, were followed, three days afterwards, by his officers: these are three officers of different corps who arrived in London the day before yesterday, and have to-day begun their conferences with the leaders of the army. They had, on their way, seen my lord General Lambert, and their propositions must have appeared reasonable to him, as he immediately halted his troops, according to their desire. It is said that they are charged to insist principally upon the recall of the old parliament, or the convocation of a new one, on the maintenance of the ancient laws of the nation, and on the support of the ministers by the ordinary mode, that is, by tithes. The last two points seem to be ill-received by the sectaries, who wish to employ the tithes for other purposes, and establish another fund for the support of the ministers. They also have it very much at heart to change many of the laws; but as for the parliament, there will be no difficulty in obtaining it, provided that it be with such restrictions that the people shall not be able to elect persons opposed to the republican government, and that there shall also be established, at the same time, a senate with equal power in some cases; it is even said that the Committee resolved to convoke this body instead of the assembly of two hundred which was projected, and it is not probable that any of these conditions will be refused to the troops in Scotland, if they can thereby be brought to union. Some are persuaded that Monk is not treating in good faith, and that he is advancing his demand in order to gain time, and to render his cause more popular, in the hope that they will not be granted; nevertheless, the most general opinion is that he really intends to come to an accommo-

dation, seeing no likelihood of success for the cause which he maintains, since the army in Ireland has refused to join him: besides he is not a man to pursue a course of conduct so utterly at variance with his views, and his troops would quickly abandon him if they had the least suspicion of any understanding with the king's party, without whose assistance he cannot maintain himself against the whole army. It is true that the Presbyterians would readily join him, if the existing authorities were to persecute them; but whatever their inclination may be, it will not be manifested in the present conjuncture, and it was only three days ago that, in order to calm the minds of the citizens of London, who appeared still to apprehend a change in religion, General Fleetwood, Colonel Desborough, and Mr. Whitelocke went to the town-hall, and delivered three harangues in different style. The first professed entire disinterestedness of the army, and promised that no prejudice should be done to either the liberties of the nation or the government of religion. The second spoke in terms more military, and more in conformity with his rather stern character, declaring that they had not come to flatter the town, that the army would never put itself in a position of dependence upon those whom it had conquered, and that it would rather support the sectaries than suffer the adoption of any resolution to its prejudice. The last, who is now keeper of the seal, exhorted the company to union and peace, for the maintenance of which are posted, in the principal places, troops, but not sectaries. The mayor is very active, manifesting by his conduct his wish that no tumult should take place; for such would be doubtless followed by great confusion, as the people are not of the same mind, and the sectaries find themselves sufficiently numerous, together with the rest of the army, to balance the power of the other citizens; a state of things which will keep the former in their duty until the negociation has met with some success; but if fortune decreed that it should not produce an accommodation, the town would probably give some trouble to the present government, which is still occupied with home affairs. * * *

(16.)—ABBE MONTAGUE* TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Bourdeaux, November 25, 1659.

YOUR'S of the 22nd, from Auch, was received on our arrival at Bourdeaux on the 25th, the bad weather and the roads not permitting us to make greater speed. The king received here letters from England which give nearly the same news as the letter of M. de Bourdeaux; but the resolution to reduce Monk by force was one of the best pieces of news we could expect in order to begin to work in consequence. I could not adequately express to you the joy which the king manifested at your letter, for he said immediately that the proof it afforded him of the interest which you take in his affairs was even more valuable than the news it communicated; for the success of these petty movements is uncertain, but the good effect of your interest is infallible. He has therefore commanded me to inform you that, from to-morrow, he will begin to follow your views, and will take post to proceed to the frontier as quickly as possible, after having seen the queen his mother at Colombe. He has already commenced overtures to Monk, and he is assured that he can send messages to him in safety; but besides the person whom he has on the spot, who will not fail to act according to his first commission, he will despatch an express, and will begin also to have Lambert sounded by an envoy whom he thinks sufficiently trustworthy to be able to make overtures to him without their ever being turned to his prejudice. At the worst, he will inform us of the result of all to communicate it to you, protesting to you that he shall do nothing without your concurrence, or otherwise than in conformity with your advice, which he urgently begs you to be so kind as continue to him, assuring you that he will keep the secret so well that appearances shall always accord with your sentiments, and that he will derive all the advantage from this correspondence, without the possibility of any inconvenience occurring to you. This is what he has commanded me to tell you, and beg of you on his behalf, expressing to you all possible gratitude for this very opportune proof of your friendship; and I assure you that from day to day I become more bold to offer myself as a guarantee for all that he promises you, for I am more and more persuaded of his talents and ingenuity; and as for the Marquis of Ormonde, he seems to me a man of great probity

* Abbé Montague was chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria.

and virtue, and remains very well satisfied with the conversation which he had with you.

(17.)—Abbe Montague to Cardinal Mazarin.

Bourdeaux, November 26, 1659.

The king of England left this morning by post, as I informed you yesterday that he would: this morning he has had a courier despatched expressly to bring him the declaration of Monk and Haslerig against the London army, and the march of Lambert against them with some four thousand men. The others are in greater force, according to all accounts; and they have seized the entrances into Scotland on both sides; that is to say, the towns of Berwick and Carlisle, and some say Newcastle. If this be so, the English will have difficulty in passing. The king of England hopes that they will come to blows. The best thing for him would be that the war should begin, and that it should not be finished immediately by a single battle; for, if one or the other party remained the absolute master, he would have greater difficulty in making any arrangement with the master. The king has commanded me upon this conjuncture to propose to you the consideration of this scheme, whether, in case of some sure opening for the town of London to declare itself in the absence of the army, you would judge it fitting that he should pass into England with the people whom the Spaniards might give him of their subjects; he knows also that, if you approve of the plan, you will assist him; therefore he holds himself quite ready to do whatsoever chance may present to him, being determined to undertake nothing without your advice. We shall from day to day see more clearly into the consequences of these alarms; and I will try to make myself well informed of all things on arriving at Paris, where I shall be in ten days, if it please God. The king of England greatly desired to write to you, to thank you for the attention which you have given to his interests, but I dissuaded him from doing so, foreseeing the consequence of an answer which might embarrass you. You can send it to me much more easily; and I shall expect it from M. Colbert at Paris.

(18.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, November 27, 1659.

The last letters which I had the honour to write to your Eminence will have informed you of the dispositions which pre-

vailed here with regard to an accommodation between the troops. These appearances were not deceitful, for a treaty was concluded twenty-four hours after. The deputies from Scotland were from the first so well satisfied with the government which the Committee had projected, that they no longer insisted upon the recall of the old parliament, and immediately agreed to forget all causes of discontent, to pass an act of indemnity for all that had been done on either side, to set at liberty the officers whom Monk had arrested, and to assemble at Newcastle fourteen deputies of the two armies to settle the claims of those who have lately been cashiered or suspended, both in England and Scotland; that the pretended rights of the king of England and his family shall be disclaimed; that the three nations shall be governed in the form of a free state, or of a republic without either a king, a House of Lords, or any single ruler; that there shall be established a Council of nineteen persons, ten of whom shall be moderate Presbyterians, nominated by Monk's deputies and the army here, and the other nine chosen from the three armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; that all together, or at least nine of them, shall regulate the qualifications of those who may be elected by the people to hold the parliament; that there shall also be convoked an assembly of two officers from each regiment, one from each garrison, and ten from the navy, to whom the proposed form of government shall be presented for deliberation on the 16th of next month. It has also been resolved that the Universities shall be so well maintained and reformed that they may become schools of learning and piety. These are the articles which appear. As for the model of the government, although it is said to have been approved of, it has not yet been published. The agreement had no sooner been signed by the Commissioners of the two armies than it was presented to the general Council of officers, and, after some discussion, confirmed. Two copies of it were forthwith despatched yesterday to Generals Lambert and Monk, who had begun their march; and during the evening the cannon of the Tower of London solemnized this reconciliation, which many thought would have been more difficult than it has proved; but they had little reason for such an opinion, there being no likelihood that the interest of the old parliament could maintain a division which would undoubtedly have ruined both parties, even though it had lasted only a short time. The

people of London were daily becoming more arrogant—even to refusing the payment of the ordinary taxes—under pretext that the parliament had revoked them all two days before its dissolution. This refusal obliged the army to send soldiers with the collectors, and no disorder ensued therefrom. It has also been found necessary to change the greater number of the officers of the city militia, as the old ones were not found to be well-disposed; and the militia of Westminster refused to arm at the orders of the Committee. If the army here met with some opposition, Monk was not exempt from trouble and mistrust of the constancy of his troops, several companies of which have disbanded: thus both were in some degree compelled to an agreement; and by their treaty the power will remain in the hands of the leaders, since the government is to be composed of a Senate which they will choose; that this body will convoke parliaments when they are needed; will have a *veto* upon them, in regard to affairs of religion and government, and will even propose to them the matters upon which they will have to deliberate. It is also said that the tithes will be employed for other purposes than the support of ministers, for whom another provision will be made, and that many other regulations are to be introduced into the administration of justice. As the people of England are greatly displeased with all the revolutions which have happened, and as the new project in some measure preserves their prerogatives, in that it leaves to the parliaments the powers which they possessed under the kings, whom the Senate will represent, we have reason to believe that the present establishment will be stable, although the sectaries have more share in it than the Presbyterians, whom they will doubtless try to keep out of the parliament. It will not, nevertheless, be easy to stifle the jealousies of the leaders; and if fear of the royal family, or the impressions which are prevalent that France and Spain have resolved to undertake its restoration, have caused union at the present moment, as soon as these fears are dissipated new causes of disunion will very probably arise.

I saw Mr. Lockhart to-day, and he appeared to me persuaded that the king had no intention of interfering in the affairs of England; he will doubtless have spoken in the same strain to the heads of the government, and dissipated their suspicions, if they are real. The said general ambassador has also returned me thanks, on the part of Mr. Fleetwood, for the

mediation which I offered him at the time when the success of the negociation was very uncertain. I did not think it my duty, in the present conjuncture, to change my tone, neither did I think fit to discuss any other affair. * * * *

(19.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, December 5, 1659.

* * * MY preceding despatches will have informed your Eminence with tolerable exactness of the state of affairs in England during last week, and led you to expect a complete reunion of all the forces after the accommodation upon which the deputies of both parties had agreed; this is still the wish and the hope of the leaders of the army. Nevertheless, a short time after that treaty had been signed, the deputies from Scotland received orders to insist upon the recall of the old parliament, and to demand that the command in Scotland should be separated from that in England. It has also become known that Monk has called together deputies from all the provinces and towns which are under his government. Some of his letters furthermore represent him as resolved to prolong rather than to conclude the war; and one was delivered yesterday to the city of London on his behalf, in which he professed that his sole intention was to have a free parliament, and to deliver the nation from its present state of slavery, and invited the people to assist him. Some of the company wished to prevent its being opened; but, as they were in a minority, the letter was read, and immediately the mayor, under pretext that it was late, adjourned the meeting. He has also written to other towns in the same terms; and although this was done before the General had been informed of the treaty, his conduct has not failed to excite apprehensions that he has changed his views, that the English Presbyterians have given him fresh courage, and that, flattered with the hope of becoming the leader of this most considerable party, he will reject the agreement, the retardation of which can produce none but bad consequences, as the mind of the whole nation is strongly inclined to throw off the yoke of the army, and the people are excited, as much by the old parliamentarians as by the other factions, to refuse to pay the taxes, in order to compel the soldiers, by want of pay, to mutiny and join Monk. The Presbyterians are, at the same time, striving to gain over the

others; and I learn that, during the last few days, their principal men have held some meetings in London, in order to seek out some way of accommodation which will be advantageous to the king. Besides the cabals of the enemies of the present government, there are, in the army, several conflicting interests. Fleetwood, Lambert, and the sectaries, who are headed by Vane, are each desirous of obtaining the chief power. The first party is now the strongest. Sir Harry Vane talks of retiring from public affairs, as his advice is no longer followed. Lambert will not leave so easily: he is reputed to have credit enough to draw over to his side a portion of the army, and to be ambitious enough to seek his aggrandizement from the king, if he cannot see his way clear to become, in time, the head of the republic, or at least of all its forces; he is, therefore, greatly caressed by the royalists, whom he has latterly treated with great consideration. Those of them whom I have seen are more full of hope than they have ever before appeared, and flatter themselves that the accommodation will be rejected. The opposite party has also taken the alarm, and does not deny that present appearances are very bad; and the principal reliance here is in the fear which Monk's officers will entertain lest their division should restore the king. It is even said that many have abandoned him since Lambert's troops approached the frontier; and they must now be near Newcastle, and Monk between Edinburgh and Berwick. Public rumour asserts that there has been some engagement between their parties, but this is without foundation, for it is not to be supposed that they are so desirous to destroy each other, that they have sought each other out before receiving news about the negociation from London, where the deputies from Scotland are still expecting the ratification of the treaty. It is no easy matter to foresee what will be the end of these movements. Reason ordains that both parties should come to a speedy accommodation, upon any conditions whatever; but Monk may persuade himself that, by remaining firm, all the Presbyterians will favour him, and that with their support he will become the master. Up to this hour, it is not asserted that any other project is entertained by him, or that he has any understanding with the king of England: his answer about the treaty will, ere long, develop his plans. Meanwhile, all is in suspense; even the Courts of Justice are closed, because the judges had been commissioned by parlia-

ment only until the 20th of last month. The tallages were ordered only for the same term, and by the end of the present month all other taxes will cease, although the Committee has directed their continuation: the levy will not be effected without the aid of soldiers. I have already informed your Eminence that Mr. Lockhart had visited me, and appeared persuaded that the passage of the king of England through France did not proceed from any intention on our part to support his plans: he has doubtless spoken to the Committee in the same terms. It still continues to affect great jealousy of his Majesty's inclinations—a feeling partly originated by the royalists, although it would be the means of bringing the minds of the army into greater unanimity. * * *

(20.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, December 8, 1659.

THE affairs of England remain in the state which I described to you in my preceding letter. The ratification of the agreement between the two armies has not yet arrived, and it was not expected until to-day or to-morrow. However, it appears that General Monk has declared to the Assembly of Scotland, which was held in the ordinary place of meeting of the parliaments, that God and men summoned him to England to re-establish the parliament; and that he exhorted the deputies to do their duty in maintaining public tranquillity during his brief absence, and requested some pecuniary assistance. The said deputies professed that they did not wish to interfere in the quarrel, as its termination could not be advantageous to their country, and that as their country was disarmed, nothing was to be apprehended from it; that, nevertheless, they would not fail to do their best to keep it in peace, and would give a subsidy. This strong disposition to open their purse casts greater suspicion upon the inclinations of this general, there being little likelihood that the Scotch, who are not very rich, and still less fond of their governor, would grant him assistance so readily, unless they saw their way clear to gain him over to the interest of the king, for whom he formerly fought. Besides that he has at present no other object than the one he professes, this distrust is augmented by the changes he is making in his troops while the deputies are negociating; and although they still hope not to be disavowed, recruitments and new levies are being

made all over England, either in order to reduce it to reason, or to overcome the resistance which will be opposed to the levying of the taxes, for the people daily become more determined, insomuch that an artisan in London sorely maltreated some soldiers who were assisting the collectors. The difficulty will not be less in the country, and fear alone will be able to extract money, so long as the taxes are not enacted by the parliament. The Committee is working at the same time to place the new form of government in a fit state to be presented to the officers of all the armies who are to assemble on the 16th of this month, and the Council of War has appointed twenty-seven commissioners to examine it. It has also had some debate about recalling the old parliament, or at least forty members of it. * * * The city of London has not yet deliberated upon Monk's letters; they are even suspected of being suppositious, and the bearers have been arrested since they were disowned by the deputies from Scotland. A report has been very prevalent that some troops of both parties had encountered each other, and the disadvantage was on the side of Lambert's men, but it has no foundation, and up to the present time no act of hostility has taken place on either side; and it is probable that, even if the accommodation is not approved of, the assembly of officers will take place notwithstanding on the 16th, and that meanwhile all things will remain in their present state. * * *

(21.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, December 11, 1659.

I THINK I have fulfilled the order which your Eminence gives me in your letter of the 27th of November, not having allowed any post to leave without informing you of what had come to my knowledge regarding the affairs of England, and it was not until after I had performed this duty that I wrote to M. de Turenne on public affairs; but some of my letters, and among others, that in which I relate the dissolution of the parliament, have been suppressed, and no restitution of them has been made, notwithstanding my complaints. I should be deceived if the present had the same fortune, since it informs you of Monk's answer to the treaty which his Commissioners had signed at London. I send a copy of it, that you may judge from it what are his intentions. This despatch had no sooner arrived yesterday evening at London,

than a resolution was taken to send back the deputies from Scotland to Newcastle to-day, and to give General Lambert power to treat, on the spot, about the differences which may remain. The royalists do not think that these can be settled so easily, and are persuaded that Monk still claims independence of the general who commands in England, and will never allow the officers whom he has cashiered to be restored; their hope is, moreover, founded upon the fact, that three additional regiments have been commanded to march to the frontier since this news, and that the leaders of the army speak with uncertainty about the success of this negociation. Nevertheless, as it does not appear that Monk has any understanding with the king of England, and as his troops are considerably weakened by the continual withdrawal of the officers, and further, as neither the English army, nor the city of London, have declared for him, according to the assurance which had been given him,—it is not to be presumed that the division will continue; and the English army is so well aware of the ill effect which war would produce, not to grant the greater part of the demands that will be made, excepting the separation of the forces. It is said that the despatch from hence will find the Scottish army on the march with its artillery and baggage; that, on the same day, Monk had dismounted three companies of cavalry which were with him, and that the goodwill of his troops towards him was beginning to subside; and that thus the evil would not be so great if he should be very much opposed to the accommodation, in reliance upon which the regiments are naming their deputies to proceed to London on the 16th, and form a government there. Mr. Lockhart returned to Dunkirk to-day, after having obtained that the regiments of his garrison should belong to the main body of the army, but having failed to procure the restoration of the officers cashiered during his absence. The letter which he gave me to forward to your Eminence will, doubtless, inform you of the object of his journey, and of the resolution here regarding the continuation of the truce between England and Spain: he entered into no explanations with me; but he strongly assured me of having done all in his power to dispel the jealousy felt here in regard to France. I shall not fail to see some member of the government upon this matter, and diligence is very necessary now that the king of England is staying in France; for his party have

published some propositions which he made to induce the king and your Eminence to undertake his restoration, which will be difficult if his ill-fortune decrees that the troops should come to an agreement; it is, however, true that even if they become reconciled now, there will always remain seeds of dissension for the future. * * *

(22.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, December 15, 1669.

THE news to-day will represent the condition of England, as rather different from what it has been of late; and if my letters by the preceding post led you to expect the reunion of the troops, you will now doubtless judge that this is still very remote, as the people of London are inclined to favour the designs of General Monk. About the end of last week, it was discovered that, at the instigation of some Presbyterian ministers, royalists, and old parliamentarians, some apprentices of this town proposed to get up a requisition tending to the convocation of a free parliament, or to the recall of the last, and to the maintenance of the churches. The Committee, upon hearing this, directed the mayor of London, on the 12th inst., to publish on the following day, a prohibition to proceed further in the matter, on pain of indictment for treason. He did not refuse to obey; nevertheless, under the pretext of indisposition and fear of the people, the officers whose duty it is to perform this act refused to do it, and the mayor being again called upon, asked time to confer on the subject with the Common Council, which met at eight o'clock this morning. But, without waiting until its deliberations were over, a company of cavalry proceeded to the front of the Exchange, and attempted to make the proclamation. The apprentices did not fail to gather around, and to interrupt it by yells, even to maltreat the trumpeters and mingle among the horsemen, who not finding themselves strong enough to withstand the populace, retired in disorder, and were pursued as far as St. Paul's Church, where there is a garrison. Immediately, all the cavalry and infantry which had been posted in different parts of the town took arms, and marched through the streets in order of battle, and one regiment went to take possession of the neighbourhood of the Exchange. The apprentices having continued still to irritate them with words, and even with stones, the soldiers fired upon the people, only two of whom were killed and seve

wounded; the rest dispersed, having no arms wherewith to defend themselves. At the same time the shops were shut. Some cried to arms, and six apprentices went to the Guildhall, where the citizens were assembled, and presented their requisition, signed by a large number of others; it was immediately read, and a committee of twelve appointed to examine and report upon it to the assembly. It was also resolved immediately to request General Fleetwood to withdraw his soldiers, and to order the heads of families to keep their apprentices and servants at home, that peace might be preserved. Before this deliberation was finished, the troops had several skirmishes in the streets with the citizens: some more of the latter were killed and wounded, and one artisan was obliged, in order to escape having his house burnt down, to give up his apprentice, who had thrown stones at the soldiers. The disturbance continued until the evening, when the deputies from the citizens went to General Fleetwood, and informed him of the resolution of the town-council, assuring him that the magistrates would do their best to repress insurrection, if he would withdraw his troops into their quarters. He accepted this offer, and Colonel Desborough, at the head of three companies of cavalry, with drawn swords and pistols in hand, went to the mayor to request him to order the people to retire, which was immediately done. The soldiers at the same time evacuated the streets, and returned to their ordinary posts: and tranquillity seems now to be fully restored, although the ill-feeling is not extinguished, and the citizens declare that they will not suffer the army to be in the town. It is not, however, probable, that the guard will be entrusted to them; this would be affording the ill-intentioned, the number of whom is considerable, facilities for promoting their very different design; many of them aim only at restoring the king, and amuse the populace under the name of liberty; others hope to have a free parliament, and believe that they will succeed, if Monk joins them; and the old parliamentarians hope that the confusion will force the army to recall them. The latter have, during the last two days, made themselves masters of Portsmouth, and the governor whom they had established there, has received Sir Arthur Haslerig, and three others of his faction; the news arrived yesterday in time to give free course to the malcontents, and some say that Hull and Plymouth have joined the same party. Letters from Monk

also arrived the day before yesterday, which represent him to be very arrogant. He requires that Lambert shall withdraw his troops, which have approached too near his quarters, if they have any desire to treat, and avows the letters which have been presented to the city of London, by demanding the liberation of the bearers; from whence it is judged that his former dispositions to an accommodation have greatly altered, and that the progress of his party will render it still more difficult, although the prolongation of this quarrel must, according to all appearance, turn to the advantage of the king of England. Those, therefore, who desire his return are full of hope, and leave no means untried to excite the people of London, who are ill-disposed to insurrection on account of the injury done to trade by domestic disorders; it is not that the principal inhabitants do not apprehend a tumult, and that this fear cannot prevent them from following their inclinations, and that there are not many of them very much opposed to the return of the king, through being in possession of confiscated property. This diversity of interests does not permit me as yet to form a solid judgment about the future, and I can only promise to write by every post the consequences of to-day's action, and if the ports are closed, as there is reason to believe they are, to send an express messenger to France, that your Eminence may be as fully persuaded of my diligence in the execution of your last orders, as I beseech you to be of the affection and respect with which I am, &c.

(23.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, December 18, 1659.

* * * SINCE the 15th, the ill-feeling between the city and the army has augmented rather than diminished; the mayor has refused to wait upon the Committee, who had summoned him to attend, and the Common council declares, that in an interregnum like the present, their chief magistrate ought rather to give than receive the law from any other authority. This same body appears greatly inclined to press for the convocation of a free parliament, and I have been told that a requisition to this effect is now being signed by the principal citizens, the number of apprentices not being capable to authorize a demand of this nature. The citizens profess also that they cannot allow the town to be guarded by the army, and they have received orders to hold them-

selves ready to arm the militia; besides their natural aversion to the soldiery, the people are instigated by the royalists and old parliamentarians to insist upon this last point, which they think will not be granted by the government, and failing to obtain which, they would immediately declare themselves. These unfriendly feelings have as yet produced no hostility, and the troops remain in their posts with as much arrogance as ever. It is even said that, within the last twenty-four hours, they have been supplied with a quantity of ammunition, and among other things, with grenades, in order that fear of pillage and fire may keep the wealthy citizens in their allegiance, and without their assistance the common people can effect nothing. * * * But if the state of London is doubtful, that of the country is far from being certain. The news of the defection of Portsmouth has been found to be true, and eight companies of infantry have set out, in the belief that a portion of the garrison is disposed to open the gates to them; some vessels have also left the Downs to proceed thither, and keep in obedience those which are at Portsmouth. Fears are also entertained about the Isle of Wight, and some other places on the same coast; but Colchester is said to have declared in favour of the parliament, and what has taken place in London will give so much courage to all people, that a reunion with Monk can alone dispel all these storms. I do not learn that any news from him has been received here of late, and a colonel has been despatched to Newcastle to hasten the accommodation, the delay of which cannot but be very favourable to the king of England; which leads people to believe that this general will become more tractable, unless he has more plans than one. Some reports affirmed that he had armed the Scotch, and placed several fortresses in their hands; but apparently his troops would not have suffered him to do this: he has paid them two months' wages out of the ordinary taxes of the country, and gives liberty to all those officers and soldiers whose views are contrary to his own to retire. * * *

(24.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, December 25, 1659.

* * * IF my preceding letter represented the city of London to be agitated, tranquillity now appears to be somewhat restored; and either because the leading citizens have

lost courage, on seeing the failure of the design on the Tower, or because the mayor and citizens foresee the inconveniences of domestic warfare, the people have not yet taken arms, neither has the militia guard left London; and to-day orders have been given on the part of the mayor to all the heads of families to keep strict watch over their children, apprentices, and servants, so that the public peace may not be disturbed. This order is based upon the convocation, which has just been published in front of the Exchange, of a parliament on the 5th of February, in conformity with the answer which General Fleetwood gave on the day before yesterday to the deputies from the city; he communicated to them at the same time the resolution taken by the council of officers regarding the form of the government. * * * Even if the expectation of parliament should put a stop to these disorders, still, if it is ill-intentioned, which we must presume it will be, the army will have some trouble to maintain the establishment which it contemplates, and still more to destroy a body whom the whole nation will have chosen: it might even happen that the proposed restrictions will serve only to rekindle the fire, which is not thoroughly extinguished. The common people of London seemed very disposed to insurrection, to which they are instigated by the royalists, among whose ranks we may include a portion of the Presbyterians, some of whose ministers have of late spoken openly of the king of England in their sermons and prayers; and in all probability, if the mayor of London had not been a man of peace, we should already have beheld many disorders here. The danger is not yet past, and there is still great reason to fear so long as the troops are disunited. The letters which have arrived from Scotland, and the report of the deputies whom a congregation of ministers had sent to Monk, in order to dispose him to a treaty, represent him as far removed from such a step; instead of hastening the meeting at Newcastle which he had demanded, before he will send his new deputies, he wishes to see those who signed the treaty at London; and this conduct is attributed to be a design for gaining time. Some of his troops, in violation of the negociation, have also marched towards England; and moreover all the speeches of this general tend only to war, under the specious pretext of restoring the parliament. He might probably have pursued this course of conduct in the hope that the city and Tower of

London would support his plans; but if he does not change his tactics, now that he knows that one has entirely failed, and that the leading citizens are opposed to the other, there will be no reason to doubt the existence of a perfect understanding between him and the royalists. * * *

(25.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

SIR, London, December 29, 1659.

* * * I WILL not fail to comply as quickly as possible with the order which your Excellency has given me to inform this government of the peace of France, and of the dispositions of his Majesty towards England, which are in conformity with the language which, on different occasions, I have had to use to the ministers here in order to dispel the distrust produced by the letters written by the royalists on the continent to those in England, to encourage them by the hope of strong assistance from France, and in order to contradict the reports which have consequently prevailed, without giving rise to any complaints against me on the part of the royalists. But the most considerate have remained of opinion that it would cause the entire ruin of their affairs, if the people apprehended the return of the king of England with foreign troops; for the parties which are now in arms are not so embittered against each other, but that the slightest likelihood of this prince's return would reunite them; the greater number even of those who wish him back do not desire to see him in a position to exercise absolute authority, but rather necessitated to grant them all the conditions they may desire. This capitulation can be made only by a free parliament; this is, therefore, the object aimed at by the Presbyterians, and generally by all the nobility, who are confident that, if the votes of this body are not influenced by violence, they will restore the monarchy, and that not only the town of London, but all the people of England would arm to prevent the army from treating this parliament as it did the former one. Whether these measures are true or false, prudence will not permit me to declare too openly for either one or the other party just now; and, with great reasonableness, I am directed to regulate my language according to the condition of the present government, so as not to offend those into whose hands it may ere long fall. My conduct will continue to be conformable to this advice, until I

perceive on which side fortune will turn. Although, at the present, the king's name is mentioned in the declarations of Monk and the other malcontents only to express entire alienation from his interests, he nevertheless has never yet had such great cause for hope—as the present confusion makes those who destroyed the monarchy desire its return, and there is moreover considerable room for the presumption that, if the present ill-will between the leaders of the army continues to increase, some of them will be forced to seek safety in the royalist party. There is no news yet whether Monk is disposed to peace, and if the ill-success of the design of the old parliament upon the Tower of London, and the orders of the mayor of London to keep the people in peace, had rendered this general more tractable, he will have had reason to return to his former views after having been informed that, notwithstanding the convocation of a parliament was proclaimed on the 25th of this month, Lawson, the admiral in command of the Channel fleet, has openly declared for the recall of the old parliament, and that, on the 26th, he entered the river with thirteen vessels, in order to favour those in the city who have the same inclinations, and to intimidate the others. * * * *

(26.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, December 29, 1659.

* * * It appears to me that there is a great cabal of the nobles and principal Presbyterians; their design is to induce the town-council, in spite of the mayor, to demand the restoration of the Long Parliament, but with all the members who were excluded from it before the death of the king, feeling sure that they will recall his son on the conditions which he granted in the Isle of Wight. They had expected that the people would take arms on the preceding night; and they are striving to excite an outbreak by all sorts of ways. I have besides had conversation with one of the near relations of General Fleetwood, and have given him strong assurances that his Majesty, notwithstanding any reports to the contrary, had contracted no engagement in favour of the king of England, did not contemplate assisting him with his troops, and would not meddle with domestic divisions of this nature, except in order to appease them, if his intervention were desired. He greatly exaggerated to me the present state of

affairs, representing Monk as already engaged with the king, or very disposed to take up his cause; the city of London as ill-disposed, although the principal citizens profess to desire to maintain peace; and the generality of the officers as incapable of taking any resolution. He even went so far as to give me to understand that if his relative and the members of his party could find safety in an accommodation with the king, they would not refuse it, but that such a proposition was too dangerous to be hazarded, and that distrust alone would lead many other principal officers to take the initiative in order to make more favorable conditions for themselves. I judged it advisable to state that his Majesty would hear with regret of this bad state of things, that he had hoped soon to be informed of the reconciliation of the troops, and that the king of England was so much attached to Spain, that his restoration could not but be one day prejudicial to France, unless those who restored him should request his Majesty to be their arbiter and warrant for the conditions of the treaty; that this was the greatest safety which they could find, and also a very proper deference to exhibit, in order that the royal family, returning by the intervention of France, might feel no more resentment at the close connexion which has existed between our two countries of late. This speech was well received and followed up, without, however, my inviting them to an accommodation so long as any other resource was left; consequently, I was merely informed that, according to the course of affairs, Mr. Fleetwood would take his resolution, and that he would doubtless avail himself of this opening, which cannot give umbrage, but must, on the contrary, produce some advantage. Monk's brother-in-law also saw me not long since, and represented the general to have no other design than the restoration of the parliament. Nevertheless, he does not answer for the future, and if the movement which is taking place in London does not decide him to make peace, he must have some understanding with the English Presbyterians; in which case the army would not be able to maintain itself long, and the king of England would return upon the conditions of the Isle of Wight. The Catholics are in great apprehension, and hope that France and Spain will take part in this revolution, fearing that otherwise their condition will be worse than it is under the present government. The hopes of the one party and the fears of the other may both be ill-grounded, and the Council of War, now

in session, may take resolutions which will reunite all minds. There is much talk of recalling the last parliament, although the convocation of another has been proclaimed; as for the conservators of the principles,* they will, to all appearances, be suppressed if the misunderstanding continues. And if your Eminence judges it advisable that I should make advances to any party, you will, if you please, let me know: meanwhile, in order to disoblige none, I shall continue to speak fair words to all. * * *

(27.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, January 1, 1660.

THE city-watch so often arrested the bearer of my letters by the preceding post, that they arrived too late at the office; I shall therefore join them to my present letter, in order that your Eminence may be informed of what had taken place up to the first day of the week, although affairs seem to have entirely changed their appearance within the last hour. On the 30th of last month, two very similar resolutions were adopted by the town council, and by that of the officers of the army. In the first of these assemblies, after the mayor had cleared himself from the public reproach which had been cast upon him of having abandoned the interests of the town to support the designs of the army; and after he had also disavowed that he had approved of the establishment of the conservators of the principles of the republic, it was determined to use every effort with the army, in order that a free parliament might assemble as quickly as possible, notwithstanding the letter which, during this deliberation, was presented on the part of Admiral Lawson in favour of the last that had separated. Some of the citizens coincided in this opinion; others, also, held up their hands in its favour, but on condition that all the members excluded from their seats in 1648 should be readmitted; and many were for a new election. This diversity of opinions resulted in the company agreeing to general terms which, in some sort, left the army liberty to choose whichever it should please. The council of officers was, at the same time, deliberating upon the report of the deputies who had been sent to the fleet, the Vice-Admiral of which would not depart from his original resolution, and had only offered to agree upon some articles for the

* The keepers of the liberties of the republic of England.

security and indemnity of the principal officers of the army provided that, before they entered on a treaty, they should agree to recall the old parliament. The firmness of this leader, and the difficulties which are met with in all the other establishments, had so greatly shaken the subaltern officers, that their superiors had some trouble to prevent them from revoking their resolution of the preceding week in conformity with that of the city. But the conservators of the principles were destroyed, and it was found more advisable to form a committee of officers who should take care that no attack was made upon either liberty of conscience, the support of the army, or the republican form of government. It seemed likely that these two deliberations would restrain for some time the violence of the parties, each being full of hope that the parliament would be favourable to it; the royalists persuading themselves that they would be able to recall the king upon certain conditions, and the army that neither Monk, nor the fleet, could refuse to submit to it. * * * * Yesterday occurred the election of a new common council for next year, from which all those sectaries who lean towards the army were excluded, and Sir Harry Vane returned to Lawson, who was near Gravesend with twenty-one vessels, and whose fleet is daily increasing, only two vessels remaining in the Channel to cruise before Dunkirk, although he has been pressed to send more thither, out of fear lest the king of England should undertake to transport foreign troops into England or Scotland. But, contrary to all expectation, upon the news that Sir Arthur Haslerig, who had been joined by the troops sent from hence against him, was preparing to march towards London with fifteen hundred horse, it being proposed to the Council of War to send some troops to give him battle, the greater number of officers opposed it. At the same time, two regiments which are on guard near Whitehall declared for the old parliament, although their colonels are opposed to it. The other corps are disposed to follow this example, and this general alienation seems to leave no other course open to General Fleetwood, than to join the city with the rest of his faction, and summon a new parliament; indeed, I am told that he has sent to make this offer, which will be very agreeable to the royalists; but it will come very late, and it has even been reported to me that news has arrived this evening of an accommodation signed on board the fleet, which

recalls the parliament, and assures an act of indemnity to all the officers and others who have taken part in public affairs of late, with the exception of Lambert, of Whitelocke, the keeper of the seals, and of Lord Warrenstowne, a Scotchman, and member of the committee. If this report be true, we shall speedily see this treaty carried into effect, and the praise or blame attaching to it will be due to Vane, who is accused of having excited the fleet when he saw that he had lost his credit with the army. Reports are also current that some assemblages have taken place in the country, and even that the cavalry are in a state of excitement at Oxford; but no credit can be given to them, and what now appears most certain is the return of the parliament, to the great prejudice of the royalists. Nothing is said about Monk, except that he is at Berwick with his troops, waiting for news of what is going on here. The intelligence of the accommodation of the Dutch with the king of Sweden is not confirmed, and even their ministers who had communicated it to me, beg me to make offers here in their favour, which I shall not fail to do as soon as the present storm is dispelled; it is also for this reason that I defer giving information of the peace between France and Spain. I am, &c.

(28.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, January 5, 1660.

THE information which I gave you on the 1st of this month regarding the disposition of the troops has proved so correct that, although on that same day, in the general council of officers, their leaders had taken a resolution to insist strongly upon certain principles which, in part, tended to their own preservation, nevertheless, on leaving the assembly, each one had no thought but how he should make his own private arrangement with the old parliamentarians; and on the following day, there was not found a single company in all the regiments of either Fleetwood or Lambert which had not changed sides, some without taking any precautions, others after having bid good-bye to their leaders, and excused themselves on the ground of the necessity to which they were reduced of conforming to the views of the troops in general. The members of parliament who were on board the fleet returned at the same time to London, and met, together with the others who were in the city, at the house of the Speaker, in

whose name they sent to Mr. Fleetwood to demand the keys of the parliament. He delivered them into their hands, and, shortly after, upon the refusal of some corps to obey his orders, he resigned to them also the direction of the army, and prepared for retirement. Nevertheless, either because they have assured him of good treatment, or because he would rather expose himself to the rigour of the parliament than take to flight, he has not yet quitted London. But Colonel Desborough and all the other leaders have retired, and the troops have received their orders from the Speaker, in front of whose house they assembled the day before yesterday. He came down to the threshold of his door, in his robes of ceremony, and received from the officers an assurance of their future fidelity, which assurance the soldiers accompanied with joyful acclamations: they afterwards marched in bodies through the streets of Westminster without entering the city until the evening, when a portion of the infantry returned thither to their ordinary posts. The Speaker, accompanied by some of the deputies, then went to take possession of the Tower of London; and, although the garrison had previously refused to recognize the government which the army had decreed, they made no difficulty about receiving him, and submitting to the parliament; and three commissioners were left there to give them orders until the session, which commenced this afternoon. Before entering their house, the deputies proceeded to Whitehall, to ascertain their number, and having found that it was sixty, among whom are those very persons who compose the Committee, no one besides Mr. Whitelocke, the Keeper of the Seals, having absented himself, they went and took their places without any ceremony or guard; the Speaker only was between the two earls who conducted me to the audience. Their first deliberation was to order a month's pay to the troops, and to decide upon the provisional government of the troops, which has been given to some colonels whom the army had cashiered. The company of guards came afterwards to take its post before Westminster Hall, commanded by the same officers whom Lambert had dismounted on the day when the parliament was broken up, and all things are returned to the state in which they were before this revolution. There is no doubt felt but that the other troops will follow the example of those in London. Already Desborough's regiment, which had been recalled from the Scottish frontier, has sent its major to give assurance of its fidelity. There is here also, a

colonel from the garrison of Dunkirk who speaks no less positively, and there is no reason to distrust the troops sent against Monk, since they were detached from the regiments which are in London. It is not that Lambert, believing himself lost, cannot take the king's side, under the pretext of favouring a free parliament, which the people greatly desire; but the English generals have little authority with the officers, who see that the convocation of such a body entails the return of the king, and consequently, their entire destruction. As for the Irish army, the greater part of it had already mutinied and had arrested two of its leaders, so that the commander, a staunch republican who had been detained here, was obliged to return thither last week in all haste, to extinguish the fire which is thought to have been partly kindled by the friends of the last Protector, who desire to recall his brother,* their former leader. The city of London alone appears to entertain sentiments not very favourable to the present government. It was, perhaps, remarked in my preceding letter, that, last week, the citizens elected a new council, composed of persons well-affectioned towards the king. The day after its establishment, letters were presented to it from Monk, Lawson, and Haslerig, all tending to induce the city to join them in re-establishing the old parliament. This incitement, and the pretext of present danger in a time of division among the troops, gave rise, during all the latter days of last week, to different resolutions. It was at first determined to send a deputation to the last two of these leaders, to inform them of the resolution which had already been adopted to convoke a free parliament, without explaining whether it had reference to a new one, or to the old one together with the members excluded in 1648. It then became necessary to change the militia, to hold it in readiness, to restore the chains to all the streets, and to demand their restoration by the governor of the Tower, in whose custody they are kept. These decrees obliged the Speaker to call upon the mayor on the day before yesterday, to represent to him that these precautions were now very unnecessary, since the army had returned to obedience to the parliament; and the result was, that this magistrate, who is naturally very pacific, promised to continue his cares to prevent any interruption of the

* Henry Cromwell, Richard's younger brother, and for a long time the governor of Ireland.

public tranquillity. Nevertheless, the main reliance of the royalists, and their only resource, is that the town-council will not agree to this, that it will persist in its resolution to arm the people under the officers already selected, and to insist upon the convocation of another parliament, if the excluded members are not recalled: that even the city train-bands would put an end to the sessions of the present parliament, that all the people of England will support them, and that Lambert and the other officers ruined by its return will embrace the same cause. This is, in effect, the only resource that remains to the royalists, and I am persuaded that if the wishes of the people were attended to, their projects would succeed. But as there is now no established and respected authority, it is doubtful whether the wealthy citizens who remained peaceful in more favourable times, would be willing to engage in a war which would be unsuccessful if the army remained united. The most disinterested are of opinion that their division alone can encourage the people to arm, and that after having had a good grumble they will be appeased, unless Lambert succeeds in gaining over some corps. Fleetwood made an offer in writing, on the day that he was abandoned, to join with the city in favour of a free parliament; but on the next day, having been summoned to keep his word, his sentiments were changed. Even though it be unfounded, there is a report that Sir Harry Vane had agreed with the commander of the fleet upon an indemnity for the leaders of the army, who make bitter complaints of him, and say that he is in part the author of this unexpected change, which may be attributed to the resolutions of the Council of War, to the necessities of the troops who were not paid, to their fatigues, and the continual dangers to which they were exposed during the interregnum, without any hope of seeing its termination except by their total ruin, if a free parliament were called—while, on the other hand, this parliament, not being able to maintain itself without the army, will pay them, and dissipate all the factions which may arise. These weighty considerations may also have been supported by the intrigues of the parliamentarians, who during all this time have had liberty to act, and by others who did not see that their authority would be so much augmented by the ruin of the parliament as they had hoped. This is, my lord, the present state of England. My next letters will give even more certain information of its

condition. Meanwhile, I have only to beg you to allow me to sign myself with respect, &c.

(29.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, January 8, 1660.

MY last letter informed you of the resolutions of the parliament at its first session; on the next day, the 6th, they passed an act for the continuation of the customs and excise duties until the 10th of March: liberated those who had been imprisoned by their predecessors in power, disbanded all the troops levied without authority, ordered that the troops in the North should retire to the quarters which would be assigned them by the directors of the army, without mentioning Lambert, their commander, and voted that the Speaker should present the thanks of the house to General Monk, Admiral Lawson, and the commissioners who were at Portsmouth. During the time that these deliberations were proceeding, about thirty of the members, whom the army expelled from the parliament in 1648 for having advocated an accommodation with the King, presented themselves at the door to resume their seats, presupposing that as violence, and not any just cause, had deprived them of their rights, they would meet with no opposition, now that the army was subjected to the parliament. It was not, however, thought desirable to admit them, but only to resolve that the matter should be taken into consideration on the 15th of the month; that they should also deliberate upon the means of filling up the vacant seats; that meanwhile a committee should examine the proceedings, orders, and reasons concerning the absent members, who were obliged to be satisfied with this answer, although it appears to them an amusement until news shall arrive from the troops in the North. The debates yesterday were of no importance; it was only resolved to pass an act of indemnity for the soldiers who had returned to obedience to the parliament, that a loan of £20,000 sterling should be raised, and that a review should be held only of the subaltern officers and soldiers. To-day, the act of indemnity occupied their attention, and their minds appeared somewhat excited when, upon this subject Sir Harry Vane spoke of Lambert, some of the assembly having called him a traitor. The town-council has, on its part, continued to carry out its former resolutions touching the establishment of the militia, which is to consist of six infantry regiments, of

3,000 men each, under very royalist colonels, to the exclusion even of the Presbyterians, who are not considered sufficiently zealous. It was also resolved yesterday, to present a requisition to the parliament to the effect that that body may be free, which imports the recall of the excluded members, and in general there appears to be great disposition to press upon this point. Some even flatter themselves that, if the city is not satisfied, it will receive these deputies, and that they will compose a parliament more considerable than the present, both in rank, fortune, and number. But to all appearance, the one party will not have courage to sit, or the other to exclude, unless Lambert has formed a faction in the army; no one doubts his good-will, and despatches have been sent to him from hence to invite him to do so. The difficulty is about his credit among the troops, who are by no means accustomed blindly to follow their leaders, and who are sufficiently enlightened to perceive that they must either conform to the views of the others, or support the interest of the King, although they talk of nothing but a free parliament. As the number of discontented officers is very great, and moreover the English government shows no wish to arrange with them, despair may make them act in opposition to their own inclinations: in this case, the confusion would be as great as it ever has been of late, London and the country having no more affection for the parliament than for the army. It is to be believed that expectation of what Lambert may have done will keep men's minds in suspense. The last news received about him states, that he was preparing to march against Monk on the 2nd of this month, because the latter general had refused to treat without the sanction of those of his party who are in Portsmouth; but the country, the season, and the retreats possessed by the latter general, give him great facility for avoiding an engagement as long as he may please, and orders will arrive from hence before the two armies will have been able to approach each other. It is also said that a brigade of the troops from Ireland, who were serving under Lambert, has abandoned him, not being persuaded of the justice of his cause, and that the others will hear with joy of the re-establishment of the parliament, in favour of which a part of the Irish army had declared, and had surprised Dublin. These dispositions leave room for belief that, if prosperity does not render it too haughty, its establishment will be consolidated, notwith-

standing the opposition of the Presbyterians, whose leaders are coming round. Liberty to return has been granted to those who retired voluntarily; and it might also be granted to the others if they would enter into an engagement against the king; otherwise their places will be quickly filled up by new elections, as it had been already proposed before the last interruption. * * *

(30.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, January 12, 1660.

THE debates of the parliament during the last few days do not furnish matter for a long narrative: it has been occupied chiefly with the act of oblivion, and with the organization of the Council of State which, like the preceding one, is composed of twenty-one deputies, among whom Sir Harry Vane is not included, and ten others; the remaining resolutions authorize all that have been done during the interruption by Monk and the others, manifest gratitude for their services, and give power to the directors of the army to appoint officers. A new form of oath has also been projected, and a deputation has been sent to the Guildhall to persuade the citizens not to alter the course of conduct they have pursued in all previous years. The commissioners who were sent the day before yesterday received a very vague answer, and there still appears a great disposition on the part of the common council to insist upon the readmission of the members excluded in 1648. Although the requisition to this effect, which was to be presented to parliament, has been suppressed, it has been only in order not to recognize its authority; and instead of sending him an address, an express has been despatched to Monk to invite him in the name of the city, to defend the same cause. But after the declaration which he has lately again renewed of his obedience to the parliament, and the oath which his troops have taken against the royal family, it is not to be expected that this general will support the wishes of the people; it is rather from Lambert that the evil is likely to come. The news from the Scottish frontier is that, having been informed of the revolution which has taken place in London, he made his troops determine to go thither, and set out on his march immediately with his cavalry and all his infantry for whom he could find horses; that a portion of the remainder has been left at Newcastle, or its neighbourhood, and that he has given

liberty to withdraw to all who were not willing to follow him before they knew what was passing in London. The same leader had sent some troops to York, and others against General Fairfax, around whom a number of gentlemen had gathered, but who immediately retired; but some accounts assure us that they have reassembled, and even that that brigade of the Irish army which had deserted Lambert had offered their services to Fairfax, if he would declare in favour of a free parliament, and that he is now at their head. Reports about Monk are very contradictory, and some say that he is on the march hither to defend the parliament; but in all probability the preservation of Scotland will have appeared to him of too much importance to be neglected in such a doubtful conjuncture as this, which has encouraged the town of Exeter to expel its garrison. Public rumours affirm that other towns have followed this example, and that in some counties mobs have gathered together under the pretext of having a free parliament. I nevertheless know of nothing very certain, except the march of Lambert, who aims at strengthening himself with the sectaries, who are dissatisfied with the parliament, the condition of which is rather precarious; having no longer their support, and the Presbyterians being so hostile to it, it will be indispensable for it to make an accommodation with one or the other party; and if the latter will enter into an arrangement against the royal family, the doors of parliament will be opened to them. As this news only arrived this afternoon, it cannot yet be foreseen what resolutions it will produce; but a few days will clear up these uncertainties. * * *

(31.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, January 15, 1660.

IT will not be without some surprise that your Eminence will learn the great change which has taken place here since my last. If its contents led you to apprehend that England would relapse into a civil war, my news of to-day will produce other feelings, and you will judge from it that we shall soon behold the entire re-establishment of public tranquillity. The day before yesterday conversation ran extremely upon the approach of Lambert with four thousand horse, upon the letters he has written to some sectaries, whose interest he professed to support, and upon the disposition of the city of London to favour him. Letters from the northern counties, moreover, assured

us that General Fairfax was in arms at the head of all the nobility of the country, and of a brigade which had deserted from the army under Lambert's command; it was also very certain that many very considerable towns had expelled their garrisons and declared for a free parliament. The city of London threatened, on its side, to take some very bold resolution, if the excluded members were not readmitted, and it has not yet consented to recognize the authority of the parliament. I know even that of late many assemblies of the principal noblemen and Presbyterians have been held, and that they have spoken of nothing but the conditions upon which the king should be recalled, flattering themselves that the different parties could no longer come to a reconciliation, that the weakest would be constrained to join them, and that the people having so strong a disposition to return to a monarchical government, the parliament would not be able to prevent it. But, contrary to all these appearances, there arrived yesterday evening intelligence that Lambert had submitted to the parliament, and had already retired with some of his friends, perceiving that his troops wished to prevent him. At the same time, there arrived assurances that Fairfax had returned to his house, and had no other intention but to oppose the violence committed by the army in his county, and to support the interests of the parliament. All the towns which were thought to be in insurrection have made similar declarations, and there does not now appear to be any body in the army or among the people, who do not profess entire obedience to the parliament, except the council of the citizens of London, which is composed of royalists, who had flattered themselves up to this hour that they could have their own way so long as the divisions continued in the army. As these measures are proved to be without foundation, the citizens of their own accord, or by force, will follow the example of the rest of the country, and not suffer their dissatisfaction to break out, unless some more favourable conjuncture presents itself for executing their designs, which they would cover with the pretext of public liberty, wounded by the exclusion of the majority of the members of parliament by the minority, which has now the good fortune to behold all its enemies vanquished and their army in subjection; the glory of which is chiefly attributed to the firmness of General Monk in supporting their interest. His friends here affirm that he has greatly contri-

buted by his intrigues to withdraw the troops from Lambert, and that he has no less a share in the reduction of the Irish army. In gratitude for these services, there has been forwarded to him the commission of Lieutenant-General of all the forces of the republic, with very ample authority, and he is now the most powerful subject in the whole nation. Fleetwood, Desborough, and all the others of the same faction are entirely out of employment, and it was only with some trouble that they were comprehended in the act of indemnity passed by parliament on the first day of this week. Lambert has not been excepted from it, provided that he submits within nine days; and an express had been despatched to inform him of this. His fall entails that of Vane, and there has been some talk during the last few days, of putting him in the Tower, it having been discovered by one of his intercepted letters that they kept up an extensive correspondence. The Protector's family also is entirely cast down by this change, not one of them remaining in authority. Those who possess it are not men of great name, nor are they sufficiently moderate to preserve themselves from all the dangers to which vengeance, passion, violence, and private interests will expose them. Moreover, they do not act with all that unanimity which is necessary, and on the day before yesterday, the principal of them indulged in such very bitter language on the subject of the oath against the royal family, that the Speaker threatened to leave his chair. On the same day it was enacted that the places of the definitive deputies should be filled up by new elections, and Mr. Lockhart's letter was read; but although it was submissive to excess, and expressed extraordinary joy at the return of the parliament, thanks were ordered only to the soldiers and officers of the garrison, without mentioning the government which Fleetwood, Desborough, and Vane, had maintained. Yesterday's session was spent in devotions, and to-day the act of abjuration of the royal family was passed, as well as the re-exclusion of the members excluded in 1648. These questions would not have been decided so speedily, but for the reunion of the troops; and the recommendations of the common council would have met with greater attention than they have now experienced; it had resolved upon arming its militia, but this warmth will soon cool down. * * *

(32.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, January 26, 1660.

I DID not do myself the honour to write to your Eminence by the preceding post, because I had nothing of importance to communicate; this barrenness of news will continue until the arrival of General Monk, who still pursues his march towards London with five or six thousand men of the Scottish army, and will probably arrive here about the end of the week. All parties now cast their eyes upon him, and each fancies that he is favourable to it; to which his answer to the city has not slightly contributed; he approves and praises its conduct of late, and the declarations that it has made in favour of a free parliament. But he also professes to hold his commission from the parliament, and to desire to support liberty of conscience and a free republic, deferring further explanations until after his arrival in London. The perusal of this letter in the common-council was not followed by any debate, because they had not been able to discover what his sentiments were, and there was no room for taking any decided measures without his assistance. At the same time the parliament received a copy, not only of his letter to the city, but of the answer thereto, by the hands of a messenger whom General Monk despatched express. Thus, up to this time, he has kept on good terms with both these bodies, and the parliament does not manifest less impatience in expecting him than the city; it has even been determined to-day, that two of the members should go to meet him, and invite him to hasten his march, and that an annuity of one thousand pounds sterling should be given him in landed property, as a mark of gratitude for his services. Moreover, all possible complacency is shown to him by authorizing the changes he has made in the army and the establishments in Scotland, where Major-General Morgan commands the troops which he has left here, and a brigade of those from Ireland, which had at first deserted Lambert. Nevertheless, whatever caresses are lavished on him, it is certain that his credit excites great jealousy and that the republicans will give him, if they can, coadjutors in the command of the army, so as to weaken his authority, which they think is incompatible with the safety of their government; this may, perhaps, produce some discontent, upon which the city and the royalists partly found their hopes. The Presbyterians excluded from

the parliament also think him disposed to restore them, and to favour the design which they have of recalling the king of England, upon conditions which will not destroy the liberty of the people of England; and I see that very enlightened persons hold these sentiments, which he will be moreover led to embrace, however little he may be inclined to do so, by the great divisions by which the parliament is now agitated. Never has the misunderstanding been greater between the few deputies of whom it is composed; and the expulsion of Sir Harry Vane, which it was thought would unite all minds, has only served to bring new factions to light. Sir Arthur Haslerig, who had greatly distinguished himself of late, and had appeared to be opposed to the sectaries, declared for them when the presbyterian faction wished to expel other deputies of Vane's party; and their mutual jealousies have risen so high, that they accuse each other of wishing to recall the king of England. This suspicion seems to have more foundation in the case of the Presbyterians, and they would otherwise have slight reason for discontenting the sectarians, the staunchest supporters of the parliament, at a time when they are offending the people by the exclusion of the members expelled in 1648. There is much talk of filling up their places by new elections, and this would be giving some satisfaction to the people; but as there would be great difficulty in disposing them to depute persons well-affectioned towards the republic, and the number of the new comers would be greater by far than that of the members now sitting, it is not presumable that their design is to fill the parliament, unless they wish to favour the return of the king. The great opposition of some to the abjuration of the royal family, also augments all these distrusts, and now it is proposed to take an engagement in more moderate terms: some wish to reject it entirely, and the retirement of the Speaker of the parliament for some days, under the pretext of indisposition, is considered a prognostic of some storm, it being certain that he has intimate relations with Monk. These are the reflections of this time, their correctness will be ascertained in a few days. Meanwhile the course of affairs is arrested, and all that parliament did, last week, was to fill up those places in the army which had become vacant by the dismissal of a number of officers, to disband the regiments of Vane and the sectaries, to give orders for the payment

of the other troops, and to direct the Council to make sure of those colonels who, eight days ago, were sentenced to confinement in their own houses, for being most of them, and among others Lambert, suspected of not having obeyed orders, and of caballing in the city. * * *

(33.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, February 2, 1660.

THE letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 14th of last month, permits me only to continue my narration of what comes to my knowledge of the affairs of England, and I cannot better discharge this duty than by representing them in the same state which I described in my preceding letter. General Monk not having yet arrived, and his conduct continuing to keep up the hopes of all parties, the commissioners of the parliament set out at the commencement of last week, to convey to him the compliments and reward which have been assigned to him. London, a few days afterwards, followed this example, and deputed three citizens to congratulate him on his journey. The excluded members of parliament have also sent to him one of their number. The nobility of the country through which he passes, do not fail to do him all honour. The towns receive him with ringing of bells, and the people convey to him their complaints. He treats every one with great civility, discloses his feelings to none, and, whilst he is conferring appointments on persons suspected by the parliament, he assures it of his fidelity. The letters which have been received to-day, are again in these terms; they give no reason to expect him until the end of the week, with his army of four thousand infantry, in four regiments, and three of cavalry of about sixteen hundred men, the rest having returned to Scotland. This force would not be sufficient to overthrow the government, if he were not seconded by the city of London, the council of which persists in its refusal to recognize the parliament, and in desiring that the excluded members may be readmitted, or that another parliament shall be called. The city of Exeter, one of the most important in England, together with the county of which it is the capital, have declared themselves to hold the same opinions, and have sent a deputy to communicate their request to the Speaker of the parliament. Other counties have treated it

with still greater contempt, addressing their communications to the mayor of London; and there is a general disposition to prevent the government from consolidating its authority; it therefore professes to have no intention to perpetuate itself, but to form a perfect republic, the conduct of which shall be left to successive parliaments; and of late it has employed itself in drawing up a declaration which shall disabuse the people of the impressions which have been given it, in order to render it favourable to the return of the king. In addition to this precaution, a great part of the army has been posted in the city and its suburbs; and as evil can arise only from discontent among the troops, care is taken to satisfy them by promises of speedy payment, and by gratuities to the leaders. Admiral Lawson is to have an annuity of 500*l.* sterling, in landed property. His officers had an idea of presenting a request on behalf of Sir Harry Vane, but their warmth produced no result, and the parliament continues to seek out and punish other members of the same faction. One, a colonel and the governor of the Isle of Wight, has been deprived of his regiment; and another has been suspended and sent to the Tower of London. Parliament has also received the accusation brought by the officers of the Irish armies against the commissioners who governed it during the interregnum, and against General Ludlow, their leader, who had been detained here during that time, because he appeared too much attached to the parliament, and who, a few days before its re-establishment, had returned to his post; but, not having been acknowledged, had retired into one of the fortresses of the country, along with some sectaries. He has been directed, as well as all the other accused persons, to come and give an account of his actions; and, as peace now prevails, they will not be in a position to disobey this order. Other commissioners have been sent in their stead, and parliament provided, last week, for all the principal posts in connexion with the administration of justice in England, without exacting any particular oath. It also made Mr. Scott a Secretary of State, and filled up the places of the cashiered officers, giving regiments to some of their supporters who have never seen any service. These are, as nearly as I can tell, the doings of last week, at the end of which the old Speaker resumed his chair, from which some draw inferences in favour of the parliament. Others

assert that a great number of its members are well-disposed towards the king, that they encourage the disobedience of the city, and only await Monk's arrival to declare themselves, as they think he will not fail to pay attention to the wishes of the whole nation, the great advantages which he will gain from it, the small amount of intelligence and stability displayed by the present government, its jealousies, and the bad fortune of all the generals who have served it. But, although all these considerations are weighty, we may, nevertheless, doubt whether they will make much impression upon a man of compact mind, who prides himself upon his great sincerity and firmness of purpose, who is moreover a republican, and whose conduct in domestic matters gives no great promise. It is not certain also whether his troops are entirely devoted to him; and if the royalists have made any arrangements with him, they are very secret, as he passes for impregnable among most of them, whom he has not yet made terms with. As the destiny of England partly depends upon his resolution, and as he himself may not yet have come to any determination, no solid judgment can be formed upon affairs here until we have a clearer insight into his views, and I should not deserve the confidence which your Eminence shows that you place in my opinion if, on the eve of so great a crisis, and at a time when those most passionately attached or opposed to the government, are not less agitated by hope and fear, I should presume to foretell the future. * * *

(34.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, February 9, 1660.

THE last letter which I did myself the honour to write to your Eminence, informed you that the hopes of all parties in England were based upon General Monk, and that all were impatiently awaiting his arrival. He has not yet reached London, and will not arrive here for three days, during which his troops will refresh themselves in the environs. But his views have already been ascertained by the reception which he gave to the deputies from this city, and from many of the counties. He received the first in presence of the commissioners of the parliament, and replied to their compliments by demonstrations of astonishment that he should be thought capable of being unfaithful to the authorities from whom he held his commission, exhorted them to submit, and not inter-

fere with the measures which it would take to restore tranquillity to the nation under a suitable form of government, but rather to second its good intentions by their prayers, and meanwhile to have patience, the only services which the parliament desired of the town. He spoke with still greater sharpness to the other deputies who came to request him, on the part of the nobility of different counties, to support the readmission of the excluded members without their taking any oath, or the convocation of a free parliament. After having blamed their impatience and the demand which they made, after the parliament had rejected it, he also gave them to understand that it was not the custom to allow any deputy to take his seat in such an assembly, before he had entered into some obligation; he represented to them that the present parliament was the freest that had ever been seen in England; saying that it would fill up the vacant places as soon as they should have decided upon the qualifications necessary to prevent the ruin of a cause for which they had fought so long; that, finally, they must submit to the present government, and that he was bound to defend it. Besides these verbal declarations, he has made a similar one in writing, in the form of a letter addressed to his own county, the nobility of which had adopted the same opinions as the city of London; he therein expressed at some length the reasons which oppose the return of the royal family, and which ought to dispose the whole nation to choose in preference a republican government. The parliament received the news on the 5th instant, together with letters, both from its own deputies and from the said General Monk, full of assurances of his fidelity, in gratitude for which, the general's commission, which had been given him during the interregnum by the Council of State, was approved. The post of Master of the Rolls of his country was given him, and an act of approbation of all that he had done was read for the first time. From this time forth also there began to appear a great change in the disposition of the minds of this assembly, it being even resolved immediately to levy a tax of one hundred thousand pounds sterling per month; and search was afterwards made, in the houses of some citizens, for the money which is said to be intended for the king of England. A considerable sum was, in fact, found in the house of one very royalist merchant, but it is claimed by several individuals.

It is also now proposed to dissolve the common council, and to compel the city to yield that obedience which it has up to this hour refused. If, on the one side, their boldness has increased, that of the people is not the less diminished, nor do the royalists appear less downcast; their only resource is now in the general discontent of all the nobility, who are beginning to assemble in different quarters. It is not, moreover, to be presumed that the army will always remain in such complete dependance upon the civil power; and, although just now the condition of the government appears advantageous, though the troops are under no apprehension with regard to the return of the king, and though this fear may be strong enough to keep them united, nevertheless, I cannot but concur in the opinion of those who think that there is yet much progress to be made before the parliament will be consolidated, seeing the general alienation of all the people, and the jealousies which some of the deputies were not able to dissimulate to-day, when it was proposed to withdraw the troops from the town to make way for those from Scotland, according to Monk's desire, which has been complied with. This request has reawakened some hopes and doubts, and it may safely be stated that the least discontent of the army, or assistance from without, would destroy all the existing establishments, unless the people were to change their humour. In order to recover them from the great aversion which they appear to feel, the parliament decreed and published, at the commencement of last week, a declaration in which it professes its desire to establish a free government, without king or lords, under the direction of the parliament; and to form an army in such a manner that, so long as it shall be necessary to the safety of the republic, it shall obey the civil authority; that all questions and proceedings concerning the lives, liberties, and conditions of the people, shall be regulated according to the laws of the country, and that the parliament shall not meddle either with the ordinary administration, or with the execution of the laws; that provision shall be made for the maintenance of the ministers, that the tithes shall be continued to them as the most convenient method of supporting them, and that provision shall also be made for liberty of conscience in matters of religion, in conformity with the word of God; that the universities shall be kept up, even with an augmentation of their privileges, if it is necessary:

that the parliament shall turn its attention to means for restoring and increasing commerce, and that, finally, it shall seek some method of relieving the people as quickly as possible from the heavy taxes with which they were burdened by the bad councils and conduct of preceding governments. The other debates of this week are of less importance, and I may merely remark, that two gentlemen who had presented a species of declaration in favour of a free parliament, from one of the counties of England, were sent to the Tower of London, not so much because of the contents of this document, as of the address made to the Speaker of the parliament, and the gentlemen sitting at Westminster. This treatment has not prevented other gentlemen from undertaking similar commissions, and presenting to the Speaker, on the day before yesterday, a request in the same style. A debate again took place on the qualifications for the contemplated elections, but no decision was arrived at, and parliament has been employed in granting commissions, both to civil and military officers; and a committee of twenty-one persons has been appointed to administer the affairs of the navy, the commander of which has gone with a large number of his officers to meet Monk, who has, upon his march, obtained a very express declaration from the governor of Hull; after which there remain in England no troops, or garrisons to be reduced to obedience to the parliament, any more than in Scotland and Ireland. * * *

(35.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, February 16, 1660.

THE last posts having brought me no letter from your Eminence, and as I have no other orders to execute, I have only to inform you of what took place at the audience which the council of state granted me last week, and of the internal affairs of England. The duplicate of my despatch to M. de Brienne will acquit me of this duty; and I have nothing to add thereto, except that the Scottish general has declared again to-day in parliament that he would remain constant to its interests, and that he is reputed to be entirely opposed to the interests of the king of England, although he refuses to take any particular engagement against his whole family. The Presbyterian faction of this same assembly holds similar opinions; and finding itself sustained by the army, it will

prevail over the sectaries, who remain few in number. The great business of the present moment is to fill up the vacant places by persons well-affectioned to the present government; and it is not easy to succeed in this, whatever precautions they may take, for the people are so alienated. Moreover, these new elections cannot long be deferred without great inconvenience, as the counties declare that they will pay no more until the parliament is free and complete, and the soldiers are beginning to lose patience. Those whom the Scottish general forced to withdraw from London appeared greatly discontented, and the 600 men who were ordered to proceed to Dunkirk were still more violent in their mutiny, in which their officers joined. The colonel having had some difficulty in preserving his life, it is proposed to decimate them. Mr. Lockhart is expected here this week, and it is contemplated to send him, or some one else, to France; but the government must be delivered from its present embarrassment before it can attend to any affairs abroad. * * *

(36.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

MY LORD, London, February 17, 1660.

* * * THE heads of the English government declare that they will not support the interests of Portugal, and that it is necessary to make peace with Spain, in order to restore the commerce of England, the ruin of which is alienating the affection of the people. They are in fact necessitated to leave no means untried to overcome the aversion of the nation; and it is upon good grounds that the officers of the English army represent it to be so general. But it does not follow that a slight support from abroad would be able to restore the monarchy, there being little vigour among the nobility, and less disposition in the large towns to run any risk, since they have not availed themselves of the opportunities presented to them by the recent divisions; they confine their opposition to starving the army, by refusing to pay the taxes, and declare that the declarations of all the counties in favour of a free parliament will be followed by a resolution to close their purses, until their wishes have been complied with. But the sword usually can produce gold; and if the army remains united, the people will find it difficult to avoid supporting it. The orders for the levy of the taxes are therefore addressed to the troops quartered in the counties; and as their interest is

concerned, they will not fail to carry them into thorough execution. The hopes which were still entertained of Monk are daily proved to have been unfounded by the declarations which he continued to make to numbers of deputies from the provinces before he reached London. He arrived here on the morning of the 13th, at the head of his troops, having been sent for on the preceding night in great haste, because the infantry which was in the city had mutinied, and part had installed themselves in Somerset House, after having driven away their officers; they would not go to the quarters which had been assigned them until they were paid, and the soldiers declared themselves ready to serve any one who would pay them, making mention of a free parliament and of Lambert. Neither remonstrances nor the arrival of some cavalry were able either to persuade or intimidate them; and it not being considered advisable to proceed to extremities, the council made all haste to give them a month's pay, which pacified them. Those at Somerset House did not leave their post until they saw Monk, and remained all night under arms. Propositions were meanwhile made to them in the name of the city, which they refused to believe; and some apprentices taking advantage of the opportunity, assembled in considerable numbers; but the mayor having given information of this, the cavalry marched against them, dispersed them without much resistance, and took fifty prisoners. The remainder of the night was spent in continual alarms; and the evil would have been very great but for the neighbourhood of the Scottish army, which deprived of courage those who are believed to have excited this mutiny, which produced consequences at Gravesend, the few men who were sent to recruit the garrison of Dunkirk having on the next day revolted against their officers, and even wished to force their colonel. They also sent a deputation of two soldiers to Monk, who represented to him the injustice done them by sending them out of England unpaid; he exhorted them to return to their duty, and some squadrons of cavalry forthwith marched against them to compel them to do so, and succeeded without bloodshed. But it is proposed to punish the most factious of the three hundred who have been arrested, and to cashier all those who joined in the insurrection at London. The whole army would incur the same fate if means were not taken to appease these discontents, which have been greatly increased by the order which Monk sent to the troops

in London to withdraw. The parliament did not wish to oppose him, although this arrangement was considered rather arbitrary. Nothing remarkable took place on the entry of this general, except that the Speaker, who thought that he would alight at his house, left the company to go to receive him, and having met him on his road, the one got out of his carriage, and the other off his horse, and they paid each other great civilities; after which the general continued his march as far as Whitehall, where the members of parliament presented him a complimentary address. The day after his arrival he again made in their presence a solemn declaration of his active and passive obedience, offering even to resign his commission if it should be judged necessary for the welfare of the republic, and only excepting from this great obedience submission to a monarchical government. He was to-day conducted into this assembly by two of the members, his soldiers lining the court-yard and hall of Westminster; and he gave an account of his journey, represented the general desire of the people for a free parliament without any oath, explained himself against that which had been proposed to him, and besought aid for Scotland and Ireland, which he represented as very poor. His wishes were accompanied by so much submission that the parliament was greatly satisfied with him, and bestowed upon him more honours than have been granted to any other subject in the nation. Nevertheless, his appointment as general is not well established, and it is affirmed that it ceased on the day of his arrival in London; that now he is only one of the commissaries-general of the army, and that he can take no important step without the consent of his colleagues. But if he shares this title with them, his power is very different, as the troops recognize him as their only leader, and all parties look upon him as the man upon whom depends the establishment or the ruin of the government; consequently, he has not time enough to receive all the visits that are paid him. The ambassadors were not the last to seek him out. The envoy from Holland sent his son to compliment him upon his campaign, and the Portuguese minister requested an audience. I made no such haste, not judging it compatible with my dignity. But the correspondence which has taken place between him and myself, on some matters of business, gave me an excuse for calling on him to-day. During the last few days the parliament has been chiefly occupied in settling

the qualifications for the new elections, which it can no longer defer, whatever danger may arise from filling up the vacant seats, as the people are so badly disposed towards it; it has also given some commissions in the army, received with thanks a declaration from the seamen, given orders for the recovery of the money which certain individuals, under different pretexts, received from the state during the last interregnum, and restored that which had been seized because it was supposed to be intended for the king of England. For want of proofs, it has deputed the Council of State to examine into the tumult which has just occurred in London; and General Ludlow, who was in Ireland, has arrived to give an account of his actions. I am, &c.

(37.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, February 19, 1660.

IT seemed probable that the declarations made by General Monk, before and after his arrival in London, would produce some effect in that city and in the country to the advantage of the parliament, and during some days there appeared to be considerable despondency; nevertheless, the objections raised by the general against taking a special oath against the royal family having occasioned some to declare that he was inclined to embrace the royal cause, and disposed others to take confidence, the town council yesterday made no difficulty about receiving a deputation from one of the English counties, who came to offer their assistance in obtaining the convocation of a free parliament. It was also debated whether the city should pay the taxes ordered by the parliament, and the majority of votes seemed to be opposed to doing so. The mayor, who held more moderate views, was hard pressed by some citizens who talked of nothing but shedding the last drop of their blood in defence of the liberties of the whole nation and of the city. The Council of State, foreseeing that longer toleration would end in destroying the authority of the government, and that every other community would follow this bad example, judged it necessary at once to disperse this faction, and destroy the hopes which it centred on Monk, by the orders which he executed this morning. At break of day he entered the city at the head of all his troops, posted them in the streets and at the gates, and then removed all the chains and posts from the streets; seized six of the most

eminent citizens, and sent them to the Tower of London; some others fled. He also sent for the record of the deliberations of the common council, and ordered the town-clerk to present it to the parliament to-morrow; summoned the mayor and aldermen, and desired them to tell him precisely whether the city would pay the taxes or not; upon which no answer was given him, it being postponed until the council shall have met, which will be to-morrow. Meanwhile the troops remain in the same posts, and the general at an inn near the Guildhall. The parliament has authorized all these proceedings; and it is believed that, in order to make sure of the town, some other measures will be taken, as no good can be expected from it so long as it is governed by those who are now in office. The mayor and aldermen alone are well-intentioned; the others are entirely opposed to the parliament and devotedly attached to royalty. The tranquillity with which the action of to-day took place leaves no room to doubt that the people will suffer all establishments which may be considered necessary. They beheld without murmuring, and in great crowds, the removal of their chains and the imprisonment of the citizens, and the mildness with which General Monk spoke kept them still in some hope that he will contribute to their design of having a free parliament, without the deputies being obliged to enter into any engagement before admission. Orders have been issued for the arrest of twenty-six deputies from the provinces, and the government is persuaded that fear alone can prevent them from combining against the existing authorities. The town of Bristol, one of the most wealthy and populous in England, revolted under the same pretext; but the magistrates and leading citizens succeeded in appeasing the populace. Gloucester also has been rather agitated. The parliament has not yet decided upon the qualifications for the new elections, and great inconveniences are found to exist, whatever precautions they may take against having republican deputies, since the people are so badly intentioned. * * *

(38.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, February 22, 1660.

I SEND the present letter by an express courier, foreseeing that the post will be stopped, and it might be somewhat prejudicial, in the present conjuncture, if your Eminence were not promptly acquainted with what is taking place here

in London. My letter of the 19th of this month informed you that the debates in the common council had obliged the Council of State to send General Monk, with all his troops, into the city, and that he had committed six citizens to the Tower, removed the chains, and urged the payment of the taxes: he was also ordered to break down the gates; but, upon being besought by the mayor not to commit such a violence, he undertook to intercede with the parliament; and, in fact, in the same letter in which he reported the performance of all his orders, he represented that it would be proceeding to too great extremities, and that the most respectable inhabitants of the city appeared quite disposed to submit. Instead of paying attention to his remonstrance, the parliament, without further delay, dissolved the common council, and directed the general, in rather harsh terms, to do what he was ordered. He obeyed, the next morning, and had some gates burned, without opposition by the people. He again sent to the mayor and citizens, in order to obtain some money from them; but some declared that they had no power to determine upon anything without the concurrence of the common council, and others answered that they would rather consent to the pillage of their houses than to a tax, unless it were levied by order of a free parliament. Having been unable to gain anything, either by threats or persuasion, the general returned to Whitehall on the afternoon of the 20th, leaving the greater part of his troops in the city, and being much hurt at the bad reception which had been given to his intercession. The enemies of the government did not fail to take advantage of his discontent; and, entirely to alienate him, they suggested to him, by means of some ministers, and other persons who have some credit with him, that the parliament had appointed him to act against the city, in order to render him more odious, and afterwards to destroy him with less trouble; that a resolution had already been taken to deprive him of his commission, as soon as the town was reduced; that Lambert was to be recalled, General Ludlow sent back to take the command in Ireland, and Vane re-established in authority, as the latter had already obtained permission to remain in London, under the pretext of illness, and the prosecutions instituted against the others had been suspended; and that, finally, the sectaries were going to resume the government, since, when they had presented to

parliament a requisition to the effect that no one should be admitted into that assembly, or into any public employment, unless he had taken the oath of abjuration of the royal family, which was refused by the Presbyterians, far from rejecting such a demand, they had received a vote of thanks, from which circumstance he might infer that the request was not disagreeable. Fate, or the design of some members of parliament, determined that on that same day a debate arose, and an act was passed, giving the command of the army to five commissioners, without taking Monk's services into particular consideration, or regarding the rank of commander-in-chief of all the forces of the republic, which had been conferred upon him during the interregnum, and afterwards confirmed, it being presupposed that the said rank came to an end on his arrival in London. This bad treatment, and their just reasons for jealousy, caused his officers to assemble around him on that very evening; and having found them all disposed to follow him, they resolved to repair the injury which they had just done, though with repugnance, to the city, and even to adopt its sentiments, and retire thither, in order to support them with greater security; which was done yesterday, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, the general having left Whitehall at the head of a few companies of cavalry to proceed to the mayor, whom he had shortly beforehand informed, that he might not take the alarm at his return into the city. As he mounted his horse, he dispatched two colonels with a letter to the parliament, in which—after having complained of the orders which he had been obliged to execute, of the measures which were being concerted with the sectaries, of the impunity of Lambert, Ludlow, and Vane, of the little inclination shown by the parliament to fill up the vacant seats, and of the position it has taken to force upon the people an oath against the royal family, which can be taken only by persons accustomed to perjure themselves—he summons them to issue writs, between to-day and Friday, for the election of new deputies in all the counties, without binding them by any fresh oath. . . . . He also desires that this body may not continue its session beyond the 16th of May, and that another free parliament may be convoked for the same time; and, in conclusion, he declares his resolution to wait in the city for an answer. The reading of this despatch caused no little surprise; and it was resolved to send immediately to the

general the same two deputies who had gone to meet him, to endeavour to satisfy him. They found him with the mayor, and expressed to him that the parliament had learned with regret of his discontent, and did not think it had given him any cause; they disavowed the pretended correspondence with the sectaries, Lambert, and the others, and attributed the delay of the proceedings which had commenced against them to the difficulty they would find in convicting them. As to the replacement of the excluded or deceased members, they declared that the parliament warmly desired it, that the writs would even have been issued long before, but for the frequent interruptions occasioned by the general himself; and that, finally, the parliament was disposed to do whatever he and the city and the people might desire, with the single exception of recalling the royal family. It is said that he declared that he was equally opposed to this last step. This conference, however, which took place in the presence of two citizens and one colonel, did not produce a reunion, the general remaining steadfast in his opinions; and the deputies retired, after having ineffectually besought him not to press the parliament so hard, and returned to Westminster in the afternoon, to make their report, upon which a resolution was taken to issue the writs for the elections as speedily as possible. The five commissioners who are to govern the army were next chosen: General Monk is one, and with him are associated Sir Arthur Haslerig, Colonel Morley, the governor of the Tower, and two other colonels. While these deliberations were going on at Westminster, the mayor and aldermen assembled in the Guildhall, whither the general having repaired, the advocate of the army spoke, as much in his name as in that of the other officers, and represented them all to be greatly grieved that they had been obliged to execute such rigorous orders on the two preceding days. He attributed the burning of the gates to Haslerig's soldiers; and declared that the army was resolved to unite with the city in support of the convocation of a free parliament—praying that, meanwhile, it might be furnished with quarters.

This speech was received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, and offers of their houses and their purses; the troops were then distributed in their quarters, and during the evening the people manifested all imaginable public marks of joy. Never were soldiers so greatly caressed, or so liberally

supplied with drink; bonfires were kept up all night long, in front of most houses, both in Westminster and in the city, and the bells contributed to express the general delight. In some places the king's health was publicly drunk; in others, many things were done in derision of the parliament, and the houses of several sectaries were in danger of being pillaged. This general inclination will doubtless lead to the supposition that the ancient form of government will be restored; and the private statements of persons who take a leading part in Monk's deliberations, give reason to believe that this is his intention, although he professes to be opposed to the monarchy, and that he uses this language through fear of being abandoned by his troops, if, before he had gained them thoroughly over, he should declare for the king. Yesterday's step, in fact, leaves him no other course to take, as he cannot make friends again with the parliament, and as the forces which recognize this general's authority are too weak to maintain him, unless he is supported by London and the nobility, who are entirely bent upon restoring the monarchy. It is true that the majority, among others the Presbyterians, who are now predominant, do not wish the king of England to return unconditionally; being persuaded that, if he returned with unlimited authority, their religion would suffer greatly under the bishops; and that, as the most influential of them contributed to the overthrow of the deceased king, if the hands of the present monarch were not tied, their whole cabal would be exposed to great danger, especially as his ministers are considered to be violent and vindictive. It cannot either be disavowed that some of these very Presbyterians are inclined to a republican government; and that, if they found themselves excluded, the idea might occur to them of gaining the supreme authority, by the assistance of Monk, who is believed to have come to London with the ambition of raising himself to a post similar to that held by the Prince of Orange. These different plans cannot but throw obstacles in the way of the royal family; but as all the people desire their return, and have liberty to choose their deputies, it is not to be supposed that their choice will fall upon persons suspected of holding opposite views. It is even a well-founded opinion that some of the members of the present parliament—among others, the governor of the Tower and the Speaker—foment Monk's jealousies, in order to detach him from the party he had em-

braced. This suspicion is not of recent date; the oath was proposed merely for the purpose of discovering these false brethren; and it is remarked that some of those who have refused to take it have always passed over the establishments of the republic, and kept on good terms with the royalists; and that these are also the least connected with the downfall of the deceased king, and the most wealthy. It does not yet appear what course will be pursued by the others, who cannot expect safety either for their lives or property if the king returns: they have perceived, but too late, the fault they committed in cashiering all the officers of the army, and abandoning the sectaries; and it is not without reason that they are accused of seeking to obtain a reconciliation with both. But they would have great difficulty in doing this now, being in the power of Monk, who will not fail to disperse them, and to substitute in their places the excluded members, whose numbers are three times as great as their own, if he sees troops approaching to their assistance; moreover, the people hold them in such great aversion, that, if they were once driven from Westminster, they would never return thither, unless they could conquer England. Thus their sole hope seems still to be Monk; and therefore they continue to humour him, through fear lest, raising the mask, he should summon back the king without waiting for a parliament, being persuaded that, when the parliament is assembled, they will be able to form factions to thwart the royalists, and, in time, to gain over the troops, who clearly see that they will fall with the republic, as the people desire the king, but no army; and that, in any case, they will be able to call back the king upon certain conditions, and thus provide for their own safety. I am not sufficiently well informed of his Majesty's intentions, to take much share in these domestic conflicts; nevertheless, according to the course which they take, I will do my best to secure his interests, which can be no other than to forward; in some manner, the return of the king of England, if it is inevitable, and I shall have sufficient facilities to insinuate to General Monk that which will probably be desired of him. Your Eminence will, if you please, let me know; and will consider that the election of the new deputies will require some time, and that affairs here might take such a course, that their assemblage may be prevented by some other change. If anything of importance occurs to-

morrow, I will write it by the post. Meanwhile, it only remains for me to subscribe myself, &c.

(39.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, February 26, 1660.

THE letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 3rd instant, directed me to inform you, with all possible exactitude, of what is taking place in England; I will not allow to-day's post to leave without executing this order, although I can as yet give no positive information. The parliament has continued to humour General Monk in all sorts of ways; and during the early part of the present week, it recommenced prosecuting those who excited his jealousy, ordering Sir Harry Vane to leave the city, and publishing a proclamation commanding Lambert to present himself before them within three days, on pain of confiscation of all his property; it also fixed a day for hearing those members of parliament who acted during the late interruption, and gave orders for the payment of the troops which have come from Scotland. The same and following days were employed in settling the qualifications for the ensuing elections; and the abjuration of the royal family, which some wished to render essential, has been changed into a simple promise to be faithful to the republic of England, and to its government in the form of a free state, without any single person as king, and without any House of Lords. The other restrictions are very inconsiderable, although very numerous, and this business is to be terminated to-day, in order that the writs may be issued by the end of the week, according to the desire of the general, in conformity with which declarations have arrived from different counties, and among others, from Yorkshire, where General Fairfax and all the nobility have entered into an engagement not to pay any tax, until the excluded members of the parliament are readmitted, or another free parliament is called. Although the latter course seems to be more agreeable, there have been some overtures of accommodation with the excluded members, and it is said, that ten of each party are to meet for conference this evening. If the excluded members were to take the oath in its original terms, and would bind themselves not to interfere with any acts passed since the year 1648, they would surmount the chief obstacles to their restoration, and,

in this case, it would not be proposed to summon another parliament so soon. These propositions do not satisfy the royalists, and they are beginning to doubt the intentions of General Monk, since he has forbidden the town council to meet, and to arm the militia before the parliament has finished its deliberations upon the convocation of the deputies, and has, as it were, approved of the engagement against a royal government, which was communicated to him before it was adopted, and against which he made no other objection, than that the words *in the presence of God*, should be left out, and they were accordingly omitted. This conduct still keeps men's minds in suspense, and some believe him to be a republican, and that he will not favour any other form of government, that he would not even have taken this last step if the parliament would have given him some prerogative over the other four commissioners appointed to govern the army, according to the opinion of some deputies of this assembly who wished to render it necessary; and that he is on the eve of quitting the city, notwithstanding the caresses it has lavished upon him, and the money it has given to his troops, and of entering into the Council of State with all those whom the abjuration prevented from taking their places. Others still persuade themselves that his real feelings are in favour of a free parliament, and that whatever oath the deputies may take, he will recall the king, to whom he gave assurances of support, both before his departure from Scotland, and since his arrival in London, and that henceforward he cannot be in safety with the parliament. Both these opinions have some foundation, and it appears that this general has kept up the hopes of all parties in order to place himself in a position to support that one from which he would derive most advantage, but that in reality, his primary aim has been to consolidate the republic, and make himself its general; that such alluring conditions may have been offered him of late, that he has returned to his first opinions, and will think that he has done his duty to the city and the whole nation in reference to the promise which he made them to act in concert with them so as to obtain a free parliament, by obliging the present to fill up the vacant seats, although it may be with an oath contrary to the desires of all the people of England, which will not be without effect if the armies are united to enforce its observ-

ance. We must wait a few days more before forming a decisive opinion. The Scotch have sent six deputies, with the Earl of Glencairn at their head, to watch over the interests of their nation here, and this deputation is considered to be a consequence of the fair words spoken to them by Monk. Mr. Lockhart has been in London for some days, but I have not yet seen him; his arrival and the embarrassments of the country have caused me up to the present time to postpone speaking to the Council of State about the differences which have arisen between the garrisons of Dunkirk and Calais. As the important business now under discussion is to be brought to an end to-morrow, there will soon be an opportunity for treating of other affairs; and I am consequently urged by the Swedish ministers to press the despatch of fresh orders to the British plenipotentiaries in Zealand. I have been informed that General Lambert sent to tell General Monk that, in order to heal the jealousies which his presence excites, he would enter into the service of the king of Sweden, if the parliament would give him liberty to do so and to take with him those soldiers who would be willing to follow him. This offer may, probably, be accepted, at least as far as concerns himself. I am, &c.

(40.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 1, 1660.

I SHALL not write to-day more positively of the affairs of this country than I did in my preceding letter, but, on the last day of last week, the parliament concluded its debates upon the elections, warned the people, under very severe penalties, not to give their votes unless they had all the requisite qualifications, and reserved to itself the power to decide in doubtful cases; there has also taken place, in presence of General Monk, a conference between the excluded and actual members, without their coming to any resolution, the latter having offered to admit the former if they would take the oath against royalty, and these having refused to do so, not so much from conscientious scruples, as from fear of losing their credit. This negociation is not yet broken off, and there still remains hope of an accommodation upon conditions that will secure one party without pledging the others to any form of government, although up to the present time General Monk has professed that he desires a republic, and

most of his officers are of the same opinion. Meanwhile, the issue of the writs for the election is delayed. As it is of importance that the bailiffs who assemble the people and preside over them should be well-intentioned, the parliament has, according to custom, renewed the commissioners and appointed persons on whom it can rely. These are the principal occurrences of the last few days. Nothing of importance has taken place in the city, except that the Council of State having invited the general to come and take his seat to advise with them on the means of preserving Dunkirk, presupposing that the Spaniards were preparing to attack it, and Mr. Lockhart having come expressly to give his advice, the mayor and alderman begged the general not to leave the city or withdraw his soldiers, until some arrangement had been made for the safety of the town, which he promised he would do; and under this pretext he refused to go to the Council, but gave them to understand, that whatever might be the division of England, it would always be sufficiently at union to preserve the place, even if a hundred-and-fifty thousand men should attack it. I have been informed, that, in order to please the city still more, he has represented to parliament that peace with Spain is necessary. The provinces still profess to desire a free parliament, and the bonfires which were made in London, have caused others to be made in several towns, where there even occurred some tumult, to repress which Monk sent orders; from which we may conclude that the fate of the nation is now in his hands, as all parties caress him and do all in their power to gain him over to their side. Lambert even has addressed himself to him to obtain a mitigation of his prosecution by the parliament, and his recommendation produced an immediate effect. It is said that this great complaisance does not prevent them from taking underhand measures with the sectaries, and that a plan has been formed to place Lambert at their head, if Monk declares for the King; but the object of their efforts, would, in this case, be rather uncertain, as the nation is so disposed to favour his return. * * *

(41.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 2, 1660.

I SEND an express after yesterday's post to inform your Eminence that this morning, General Monk restored the old

members, having first agreed with them that they shall sit only for four days, during which they shall despatch writs into the provinces to cause the election of a new parliament, excepting only royalists and sectaries, and without binding them by any oath: all the troops are also to be disbanded, with the exception of those under General Monk, and the militia will be intrusted to the hands of the gentlemen of the country. A new Council of State will be elected, and all that has been done by the parliament since 1648 will be ratified. Besides these conditions, a promise has been made to Monk to constitute him General of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland. I postpone until Thursday's post such particulars of this important change as may come to my knowledge; for I have now only time to subscribe myself with respect, &c.

(42.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 4, 1660.

THE letter which I wrote to your Eminence on the day before yesterday, arrived at Dover in time enough to be taken by the post of the 1st of this month, and will already have informed you that General Monk has restored the members of parliament who were excluded in 1648, and of the principal conditions agreed on between them. This change, very important when we consider the consequences it may entail, took place without any opposition or ceremony whatever, and with such secresy that, although it had been concerted with many persons on the 1st of this month, when the general returned, on the next day morning, from the City to Whitehall with most of his troops, Sir Arthur Haslerig and those of his faction went immediately to visit him, being persuaded that he had returned with the intention of remaining steadfast in their interests. He disabused them, and, after having communicated to them his resolution, invited them to continue their session, professing that he still held the same views with regard to the form of the government; which occasioned them urgently to request that he would at least oblige these members to take that oath against the monarchy which he himself seemed to have approved. He declined to do so, saying that it was an act of useless circumspection, as it had appeared to him that most of them were well-intentioned towards the republic. They were obliged to be satisfied with this answer,

and just at that time, the excluded members having come to wait upon the general, he told them that his cares had not been able to arrest the course of the divisions which existed amongst them, and that several conferences had been held to that end without success, but that at last he had received entire satisfaction from them, and had given them the trouble to call upon him in order that he might declare his views to them more freely than in past times; and that, through fear of being misunderstood, as he often had been before, he had reduced to writing the heads of his speech, which he would now have read to them. At the commencement, he declares that he has perceived that the peace and establishment of the nation depended, after God, on their hands; praises their wisdom, piety, and disinterestedness; and affirms that he has entire confidence that they will show all necessary readiness to repair past evils. He next professes that he contemplates nothing but the glory of God and the establishment of the nation upon the foundation of a republic, and that he wishes to impose nothing upon them likely to restrain their liberty in making future establishments, but only represents to them, that as the old government has been broken up, it can be reconstructed only upon the ruins of the people, who have pledged themselves in defence of the parliament and of religion, and that, if the king returns, his power will become arbitrary. He speaks afterwards of the City of London as the bulwark of the parliaments, makes its happiness depend upon a republican government, and presupposes that under any other, it cannot become the metropolis of the commerce of all Christendom, to which rank God and nature seem to have destined it. He also proves to them that, upon religious grounds, the monarchy cannot be introduced, because it would bring with it that system of prelacy against which the nation has pledged itself so solemnly; and insinuates that a moderate Presbyterian government, with sufficient liberty for really tender consciences, is the most suitable that can just now be established. The interest of the nobles who have joined with the people is not forgotten; the general judges it advisable that as the state of the three nations is such that another House of Parliament cannot be suffered, some hereditary distinction should be given them which may make them appear more noble to posterity. His conclusion of the whole speech is an invitation to the members to go and promptly take their seats

in order to establish the conduct of the armies in such a manner that they may contribute to the peace and security of the country, and not to its ruin; to provide for the future maintenance of all the forces both by land and sea, as well as for the payment of their arrears and the other necessities of the government; to form a Council of State, with authority to provide for the civil government and the administration of justice, both in Ireland and Scotland, and also to issue writs for the convocation of a parliament of the three united nations on the 30th of April next, with qualifications which shall assure the safety of the cause in which he and the others are engaged, and according to the division of the country effected in the year 1654; which parliament, thus convoked, shall be able to assemble and act with all liberty for a more perfect establishment of the republic, without a king, single ruler, or House of Lords, and that finally the parliament shall legally dissolve itself, in order to make way for others. He then finished by an assurance that the guards would allow the excluded members to resume their seats, that himself and the officers under his command and all the soldiers of the three nations would shed their blood for them and the successive parliaments; but that if their counsels tend to other objects, force and violence will immediately return, and all hopes of the long-desired settlement will be buried in disorder. The members went, with this mission, to resume their places before the others had taken their seats, and found the infantry drawn up in line in Westminster-Hall, with crowds of people who expressed exceeding joy. They found themselves to be sixty in number, and the Speaker having arrived with twenty of the others, they began by revoking all the acts passed against themselves since their election, even the protest which they had entered against the violence of the army, and the resolutions taken subsequently to fill up their places by new elections. General Monk was afterwards declared Captain-general and Commander-in-chief under the parliament of all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and Vice-admiral Lawson was confirmed in the command of the fleet. The appointment of the five commissioners, named a few days before to govern the army, was also revoked; the deputies from some of the counties, and the citizens of London were set at liberty; and the governor of the Tower was ordered to give an account on the next day of the reasons of the imprisonment of Sir George

Booth and another of the same party; all the orders given by the Council of State or the commissioners of the army since the last day of last week were suspended until they had been communicated to General Monk; and the power of the Council of State was also suspended until new orders should be received from the parliament, which met in the afternoon, and restored the town council which had been dissolved, permitted the mayor of London to replace the city-gates and chains at the public expense, and decided upon forming a new Council of State, composed of thirty-one persons, of whom General Monk was declared one, and the election of the others was deferred until to-morrow morning. Orders were also given for the liberation of several prisoners, among others, of three Scottish earls who had been in confinement for ten years; and the Speaker was directed to summon all the absent members to come and take their places as quickly as possible. The acts passed against Major-General Brown, a timber-merchant in London, who has greatly distinguished himself of late, were abrogated, and liberty was given him to resume his place in the House. Sir George Booth was also set at liberty on giving surety that he would answer to the charges brought against him. An act was then passed for the continuation of the customs and excise duties, another for the convocation of a parliament on the 25th of April next, and commissioners were appointed to decide on the qualifications of those who are eligible for election; others were directed to confer with the mayor of London about a loan for the payment of the army and fleet, and to agree with him upon the securities for repayment. The majority of the acts proposed on the previous evening were again read and approved, and the nomination of the Council of State again deferred to this morning: it has, nevertheless, not yet been completed, and it is said that General Monk is desirous that the parliament should choose some of the old members, among others, Haslerig and Mr. Scott, who appeared to be his greatest opponents, and who are very distinguished among the republicans. Deputies were sent from the City to-day to congratulate and thank the parliament; they have also offered it a considerable sum of money, and the people are for the present so well satisfied, that it will have no difficulty in obtaining the necessary assistance from them. Their joy did not appear to be less on the evening of the day before yesterday than it was on the day when Monk

entered the City; during all the evening and night, bonfires and festivities were kept up, and in many places the king's health was not forgotten. Orders have been given to communicate this news without delay to the whole of the country, and, in order to retain the distant troops in obedience to the present authorities, a letter has been published from General Monk and all the officers under his command, giving reasons for the recent change, and assuring them that all the acts and ordinances of the parliament, in reference to the sale of lands confiscated or given in payment to the soldiers, will be confirmed; it further promises them prompt payment of that which is due to them, exhorts them to take care that the tranquillity of the republic is not disturbed by the partisans of Charles Stuart or any other authority, and invites them to send as soon as possible one of their number to give assurance of their acquiescence in the present government, the inclinations of which are nevertheless esteemed to be royalist. I know that some of the most active amongst them hold these views; and it is consequently the generally-received opinion, that if the declarations of General Monk and his officers are in conformity with their opinions, they will at some future time have great difficulty in preventing the return of the king upon the conditions which were formerly offered to his father in the Isle of Wight. It may, moreover, be presumed that General Monk intends to recall him, that all these demonstrations which he gives by word of mouth, by writing, and by the unfavourable reception of all who wish to treat upon this point with him, may be affected, through fear lest, if he should make known these views, the greater part of the forces both by land and sea would rise in opposition against him; the prolongation of the command of the vice-admiral cannot be attributed to any other cause, as he is a man greatly esteemed by the fleet, but a sectary, and in consequence not very agreeable to the Presbyterians, who are now in possession of the supreme power. These are reflections which are made upon the present condition of England, and nevertheless we must not yet form a decisive opinion upon the future, as there is so little clue in all the actions and words of those upon whom the fate of the government depends, and as it still appears that Monk intends to maintain the establishment of the republic. And if he thought to make himself commander of all the forces, he has now perfectly attained his object; but he will have

some difficulty to maintain himself against the general desire and bent of the whole nation, as he does not possess so vigorous a mind as the deceased Protector, and has to do with skilful adversaries who propose to place the militia in the hands of the nobility of the country, who are all royalists, and thus to strengthen them against the army, if it should attempt to thwart their plans. It was said that the parliament would not sit longer than the end of the week, but a longer time is now spoken of, as it is not possible to settle affairs in so short a time, although the greatest diligence is displayed, and this afternoon, the Council of State was elected, without attending to the general's recommendation in favour of some of the old members. The qualifications of the deputies to the parliament have also been decided upon, without excepting the sectaries, so as not to do them the honour of appearing to fear them. Those who have been actually in arms against the parliament are alone excepted. The Secretary of State has also been dismissed; a proposition was made to call some of the nobles into the Council, but they have given the government to understand that, without injuring their prerogative, they could not form part of it, and this refusal is founded upon the hope that their House will be re-established. I am, &c.

(43.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 5, 1660.

THERE does not appear to me to be any change in the inclinations of the government of England, and the duplicate of my letter to M. de Brienne having informed you of what has taken place during the last three days, it only remains for me to add that Ireland has sent hither a declaration in entire conformity with the course of conduct pursued by General Monk. It professes that the peace of the three nations cannot be established without a free parliament, or the readmission of the excluded members, and the terms of this document show that still greater dispositions exist to return to the old form of government. The officers who held other views retired into Dublin Castle, where they were besieged by the others and taken without bloodshed, as the garrison made no attempt to defend themselves. This change is partly attributed to the news which the army had received of the restoration of the officers whom it had expelled, and among others of Lieutenant-General Ludlow; but if this declaration be an

actual one, it must have been projected with General Monk before his departure from Scotland, and expressions may be remarked in it similar to his own on the subject of the sectaries. It has also just been reported to me that the militia of London has been countermanded this evening, which would afford reasons for believing that the troops gathered together by some old colonels, great sectaries, had submitted, or that, as the city has paid the money which was desired of it, the general is less careful to pleasure it. As the officers are not nominated by him but by commissioners approved by the parliament, although he is Major-General of the militia, his power over it would not be very absolute. Preparations are being made for arming that of the Lowlands, and placing it in other hands than it has been in of late; and all the officers of police whom the parliament had appointed before the admission of the excluded members have been changed, and the new ones are said to be very much inclined towards the restoration of the monarchy.* * * ———

(44.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 8, 1660.

I WAS not surprised when I saw in the letter which it pleased you to write to me on the 1st of this month, by my courier, an account of the reports prevalent in France of the proclamation of the King of England. The joy with which General Monk was received in the city of London, and the bias exhibited by the people on that day, gave good reasons for supposing that all was ready here for the reception of the prince. Nothing has since occurred of a nature to change this opinion, and nevertheless we cannot but praise the moderation with which the queen of England and her ministers receive such news, when we consider the inconstancy of the people, and the uncertainty of the real opinions of the army under the command of General Monk. His officers are not so blindly obedient to him as to be willing to remain in ignorance of his plans, and, as early as last week, they manifested their disapprobation of the conduct of the parliament, because it tended to the restoration of the monarchy. Their commander pacified them with assurances that all the readmitted deputies had pledged themselves to act in conformity with the document which he had delivered to them before they resumed their seats. This jealousy did not fail to excite the alarm of the parliament, as it followed immediately after the advice given

them by the general to dissolve in a few days, and leave the Council of State to govern until the 15th of April next, when other representatives of the people will commence their sittings. At the same time there also arose some dispute between the general and the city, because the former had opposed the establishment of the militia; but, on the evening of the day before yesterday, he was assured that he should be its commander, which had at first been refused him, under the pretext that such an employment was beneath the dignity of the general of all the forces of the republic. In fact, though it was not judged advisable to intrust so much power to the hands of one single person, this scruple had to be overcome, in order not to displease the general, who had also been obliged to consent to the wishes of the citizens, although with some risk of his authority, in order to obtain from them ——— pounds sterling, which they would not advance until they received permission to organize their militia, Fate would have it that whilst this question was being treated, news arrived from the country which made him decide in favour of the citizens. On the day before yesterday, certain intelligence came that one of the colonels of the army had gathered together some of the old troops at thirty leagues distance from London. A regiment of cavalry, and the general's company of guards set out yesterday to disperse these insurgents, whose leader is not so rash or senseless as to have taken arms without feeling great confidence that many others would follow his example, and especially the sectaries, who are very discontented with the present government. Doubts are even entertained about the general's own troops; and if they failed him great confusion would immediately prevail in England, whereas if they remain devoted to his interests, and he to those of the parliament, the nobility and the city of London, the party of sectaries would not be able to rise again; and their arming will only serve to reduce the general to the necessity of making an earlier accommodation with the royalists, unless he has already made one, which his actions would lead us to believe, although his declarations are of an opposite character. I saw the general this morning, taking as a pretext for my visit, the civilities which I have received from him on different occasions; and after some general compliments, I informed him that the court of France would be glad to hear that the forces of England were under the command of a person of such great

merit and so well affectioned towards the nation; accompanying this compliment by personal offers. He began by referring to matters of public interest, spoke to me of our peace with Spain, and of the affairs of Sweden, but from his whole discourse I can only gather that he is well-intentioned towards this crown, that he would have wished England to have been included in the treaty, and that he hopes that the next parliament will establish a stable government here. Last week the present government approved of the commissioners presented to it to organize the London militia. It has also superseded a number of officers, and appointed others in their stead; and is still debating the qualifications for the next parliament, as well as the form of the writs which are to be issued; upon which question some deputies discovered that in order to act legally they must convoke it in the name of the king. With regard to the taxes, it has been resolved to invite the people to pay them in accordance with the act passed before the return of the excluded members. The general's commission has been approved, and accompanied by the gift of Hampton-court, with the lands adjoining, for himself and his heirs. The circuit which the judges usually make through the provinces at this season has been postponed to another time, and pardon granted to a number of condemned criminals. The act establishing the Council of State and limiting their powers, was passed only the day before yesterday: it contains a very remarkable clause, authority being given it to imprison even members of parliament, notwithstanding that this is contrary to all usage. The ministers of whom it is composed will begin their sittings on this very day and will create their officers. Mr. Thurloe has returned upon the stage in the quality of Secretary of State, but with Thompson, the auditor-general, for his colleague. This choice must not surprise you, since the chief men of the council are the same who had great share in the government under the deceased Protector, whose son has again been proposed to General Monk by the very persons who overthrew him, his restoration appearing to them to be less injurious than that of the King; and in all probability, he would be preferred to him, however little he may be esteemed, as the return of the latter is as much apprehended by the Presbyterians as by those who have been engaged in the recent movements in England. To-day it will be determined upon what day the parliament will dissolve, and all to-morrow will be passed in thanksgivings.

(45.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 15, 1660.

THE internal affairs of England are in the same state as my preceding letter informed you they were, and the conduct of General Monk continues to induce the belief that his inclinations are for the recall of the King, although his words are opposed to it. The troops in London and elsewhere also profess to feel great repugnance thereto; and the officers having a day or two since brought this question under discussion, they were of opinion that if the republic could not be established, at least the King and the last Protector ought to be excluded from the government, and they appeared more inclined to raise their general to the throne than any other. Although he has expressed his disapprobation of these consultations, people have not failed to entertain the idea that they may be intended to suggest to the parliament what it ought to do; but this body would with difficulty be led to place any other but the legitimate sovereign upon the throne, as it perceives that such a course would plunge the nation into continual troubles, and its debates seem to be preparing the way for the king's return. A few days since it passed an act for the levy of the militia of London and the country under the command of General Monk, without, however, leaving him power to dispose of the commissions, which have all been given to royalists. It has also declared him together with Colonel Montague, colonel of the sea, and the latter has orders to proceed to the fleet without delay. Besides the establishment of the militia, and the confirmation of the choice made by the Council of State, of Messrs. Thompson and Thurloe as Secretaries of State, the parliament further decided, last week, upon what shall be the national religion: this will be a confession of faith which was presented to it in 1646, in conformity with the opinions of our Calvinists; and in future no one will be admitted to a living until he has subscribed to it. This matter occasioned them to speak of the Covenant, and to propose an order to have it read in the parishes, so that the people may be reminded of their engagements. As mention is made therein of the king and nobility, this will in some sort dispose the minds of men to return to the old form of government. It was also determined last week that the parliament should dissolve at the very latest on the 25th of this month, and a debate arose on the form of the writs and on the qualifications of the representatives who are to succeed them, but was not brought to

a conclusion. A number of prisoners were again liberated, Sir George Booth and all his party discharged from further prosecution, and the city and county of Chester restored to their privileges. As this act of indemnity extends also to those who were then in the service of the parliament, General Lambert has begun to re-appear in public. This morning an order was issued directing the Catholics to remain confined in their houses, under the pretext that they are in correspondence with the sectaries, some of whom have openly declared against this government, among others the garrison of Hull, and Vice-admiral Lawson, who has been trying to alienate the fleet; some of the old troops have also revolted in the country, and five companies of infantry have seized upon the town of Gloucester. But unless all the troops follow this bad example, these movements will not have any results of importance. The city of London continues to caress and humour the general, and last week deputies were sent by the citizens to present him with the command of the militia. Letters have been received from the army in Ireland in conformity with the declaration which appeared last week, and the latest news from that country is, that on the 3rd inst. a meeting was to be held to consider what means they had of maintaining themselves, in case England did not entertain the same views. This is, my lord, all that I have to write of the actions and deliberations which have occurred here. * * *

(46.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 18, 1660.

I HAVE received to-day the two letters which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 26th of last month and the 5th of the present. My previous letters will have informed you that I have forestalled the order which you give me in your first regarding General Monk, as I have already paid him a visit, and told him that the king and your Eminence would be delighted to hear that the forces of England were under his command, and that you would contribute to the furtherance of his plans. I will not fail to reiterate the same sentiments to him by means of a third person, if he objects to receive a second visit. At my first interview I did not fail to touch upon all matters likely to discover his inclinations towards France, and he seemed to me to speak reproachfully, although rather in raillery, of the peace between

France and Spain, because England had not been included in it. I however obliged him at last to confess that the foreign affairs of the country were entirely new to him. He then referred to the wars of the North, and asked me whether we should not continue to assist the king of Sweden; appearing to advocate this monarch's interests with considerable warmth, I pointed out to him that France alone had maintained this principle, and that, in order to secure it against all its enemies, it was necessary that England should speak and act in conformity with what his Majesty had done both at Frankfort and at the Hague, in order to compel the Emperor and the States-general to take some measures for an accommodation; I even offered to have a private conference with the ministers of the Council of State, in order to concert measures for its advancement. This language cannot but be very agreeable to him, as his hatred of the United Provinces has always been very great—so great, indeed, that when the deceased Protector sent him to command the fleet he was not contented with combating them on the sea, but wished to make a descent upon the coast and attack Flushing, which he felt sure of capturing. The Protector did not judge it advisable to go to such lengths against the Provinces, but rather to make peace with them, through fear of their maritime power; and so he sent the general into Scotland, whence he was never afterwards able to withdraw him, nor could the Protector Richard induce him to take up his defence. If your Eminence has anything to insinuate to him, I can easily do it through his confidants. In my previous letters I dwelt at considerable length upon the conduct pursued by this general, and the opinions entertained of it. People are now beginning to think that his ambition is not so limited, and that he aspires to the sovereignty; that, in order to attain to it, he permits the restoration of the monarchy to be spoken of in the parliament in very undisguised language, and allows the militia both in London and the country to be placed under the command of royalists, in order that the troops, becoming jealous, may unite with him, and adopt his interests, to which they have at first manifested considerable aversion; but whatever may be the general's intentions, he is allowing matters to take a very decided turn in favour of the king. And on the first day of this week the parliament decreed that the Covenant made at the commencement of the wars in England should be read in all the parishes, and fixed

up in the House of Parliament. As this engagement speaks in very express terms of the defence of the king, and of his just authority, the troops have immediately taken the alarm at it, and the officers at their meeting yesterday proposed a requisition tending to the suppression of the monarchy and of the House of Lords. They went this morning to communicate it to the general, in order to obtain his approbation before presenting it; but he opposed it, declaring that he would not allow the parliament to be constrained in its votes; he even treated some of the officers, who appeared to be more animated than the others, with harshness; but he nevertheless stated that the object of the requisition was a good and just one, and undertook to confer upon the matter with some members of parliament this evening. Many occasions have taken place of late on which this assembly has manifested its inclination towards the king, even so far as to receive with thanks addresses in which it was termed only the House of Commons, and to disapprove of others which gave it the title of sovereign authority; it has even been declared that another parliament could not legitimately be called without the Lords, and that, in consequence of the king's death, the present parliament is at an end. These private opinions would be of less weight if all the appointments, both in the militia and the police, were not given to royalists; and two days ago the government of Hull, whose garrison has declared against the present authorities, was conferred by the general, on the recommendation of the parliament, upon a person strongly inclined towards that party. The republicans have nevertheless resumed courage since the meeting of the officers; and now that all are entered into the parliament, their number is rather considerable. Yesterday Sir Arthur Haslerig and Colonel Rich (who had tried to induce the sectaries to revolt), after having been heard in their own defence, were, the first discharged, and the other sent back to the Council, who put him in arrest. As for General Lambert, his imprisonment in the Tower has been approved, although he is confined only in default of having given surety for his future conduct. Some regulations concerning religion have also been made during the last few days, and debates will be permitted only upon this matter, or the militia and the qualifications of the ensuing parliament, until the day of the dissolution of the present, which will be in eight days, unless some change takes

place. The republicans will strive to prolong its sessions, and instead of convoking a new representative assembly, to fill up the vacant places so as to perpetuate this one. Some royalists appear to apprehend it, and others to be desirous to have the merit of making establishments instead of putting them off, although the excluded members pledged themselves, before their readmission, to introduce no changes into the government, but to convoke another free parliament, to whose enactments the general has promised and still professes that he will submit. There is no news from Ireland; and public rumour still affirms that the army there is very well disposed towards the king, and that it has even sent to treat with him. Scotland is very tranquil, according to the promise which the principal nobility made to the general before his departure, and the resolution to restore the Covenant will give them great satisfaction. The movements which occurred at Gloucester and some other places have subsided of themselves; and the troops which the governor of Hull attempted to excite by his declaration, have continued in their obedience; the Vice-admiral, also, as it was reported, raised the mask; but his intentions are still suspected, as he is a great sectary. The city of London has organized its militia without giving much consideration to the persons whom the general had recommended; but it has nevertheless continued to caress and regale him very greatly. * * *

(47.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 22, 1660.

SINCE my letter of the 18th, the general and some officers have had a conference with some members of parliament, in which the former demanded an act of indemnity for all the past, that the sales of confiscated property shall be confirmed, that the government shall be constituted without a king or House of Lords, and that the militia shall not be organized. Nothing was granted to them, under the pretext that the present parliament could not do it validly; and they were referred to the next, with which they appeared satisfied. Their general has not failed to remove most of them out of the way, commanding them to withdraw each to his own quarters; which order they obeyed to-day. Meanwhile the parliament has continued its debates upon the establishment of the militia, and this morning concluded this very important business, notwithstanding the opposition of the republicans, who have

only obtained that no one shall be employed therein before he has acknowledged that the late wars were just and for the good of the country. An act has also been passed approving of all that the parliament had done from the commencement of its session until 1648, when the members were excluded; and now the universal talk is of the dissolution of this assembly in three days, as the general hopes to execute his designs more easily under a new one than with the present. His conduct still confirms the king's return. The republicans agree with the royalists in thinking so; and there does not appear sufficient resolution among the troops to prevent him. Some officers who attempted to excite them to mutiny have been arrested, and the governor of Hull has received the law from those whom the general had sent to him. There is no news from either Scotland, Ireland, or abroad; and it only remains for me to subscribe myself with respect, &c.

I learn that accounts have just arrived from Ireland which declare that the army has proclaimed the king, and that Colonel Cooke has gone over to Flanders. If this news is true, the next post will bring its confirmation.

(48.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 25, 1660.

THE news which I added to my last letter has proved untrue; and although the army in Ireland appears inclined to recall the king, it will probably postpone any declaration until some government is established in England. You will judge from my previous letters that everything concurs to the restoration of the monarchy. The parliament has, moreover, lately erased from its journals the act of abjuration of a king or any single ruler, and has appointed commissioners to examine into what has passed against the House of Lords, with some intention of restoring it to authority. Nevertheless, for the last twenty-four hours, there has been much uncertainty in the course of events, because the officers of the army in London continue loudly to threaten, and propose a declaration against the king, the nobility, and the levy of the militia. At the present time, nine o'clock in the evening, they are assembled; and as hitherto the officers have never deferred to their other commanders when once they have been aroused, every one expects some great event before long; otherwise the militia would be organized, and in a position to oppose

the designs of the army. On the other side, the parliament is assembled for a few hours more, part of the deputies being desirous to terminate their session to-day, and the others opposing it. With this view different propositions are being made to gain time: the general presses their dissolution, and the royalists think it advantageous; but some of the re-admitted members having changed sides and joined the old parliamentarians, the House is nearly equally divided. If this night, which seems to be critical, produces any important resolution, I will send it by an express to Calais. I have only time to add that the qualifications of the future parliament were concluded yesterday evening. The most important is the exclusion of those who have been in arms against the parliament, and of their children. This morning, when the act conferring Hampton Court upon the general was read for the last time, according to custom, objections were brought against it; and a proposition having been made to give him 20,000*l.* sterling in money instead, the question was postponed to another time. Some regulations were also made in reference to religion. The same act which compels the officers of the militia to acknowledge that the war undertaken by the two Houses of Parliament to defend themselves against the forces levied in the name of the king was just and legitimate, enacts also that they shall acknowledge the ministry and magistracy to be of God's appointment. I have nothing to communicate of a more positive character regarding the general than I wrote by my preceding letters; his conduct and words still continue to be opposed to each other, and he keeps on good terms with the city of London. The royalists hope that he is in their favour, and others that he intends to raise himself to the crown. Some members of parliament have the idea of placing the Duke of Gloucester upon the throne, and through him ensuring themselves against inquiries into the past. It is by no means easy to judge what will be the issue of all the present intrigues. I am, &c.

(49.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 29, 1660.

I HAVE given so full an answer to what M. de Brienne wrote me on the 9th of this month by your Eminence's courier, that I have nothing to add thereto regarding the present condition of England, as nothing has occurred of any importance

since the 25th, except the voluntary dissolution of the parliament, after it had given the necessary orders for the convocation of another, which is to commence its sittings on the 5th of May next, and for the levy of the militia in all the counties, under the command of the principal nobility and gentry, without excluding those who took arms under Sir George Booth. General Monk wrote to the parliament to suspend this act; and whether because his officers were satisfied with this diligence, or have been otherwise pacified, that great murmuring, which exhibited itself among them three days ago, has changed into complete silence and submission, although the levy of the militia is considered as their ruin. The rest of the people are very quiet; and all await the meeting of parliament, in the hope of beholding a great revolution in the government. It appears that the Council of State is desirous also to make sure of the navy by the preparations which are making; and Admiral Montague, who is restored to the command, is to proceed to the fleet without delay. The last letters from Ireland represent that great uniformity of opinions exists between the army and the assembly which was held in Dublin, this last body having approved of the declaration of the other in favour of a free parliament, and the readmission of the excluded members; but both are desirous that in future the Irish parliament may be held, and that no levy shall be made in the country without its consent, as was the case in past times. The great changes which this nation has of late undergone, and its poverty through want of commerce, have given rise to this desire. I have not yet performed what your Eminence ordered me with regard to the general. I shall do it to-morrow; and by the next post I shall answer the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 13th, it having been delivered too late for me to discharge this duty to-day. Meanwhile I have nothing to add, except that I am, &c.

(50.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

SIR, London, March 29, 1660.

I ANNOUNCED by the previous mail, my reception of the letter which it pleased you to write to me on the 9th of last month, and reserved my answer until to-day; and in reply to your question I must say that it is considered, and with great reason, that England, after having made trial of so many governments, none of which have been able to establish them-

selves, will prefer a monarchy to the others, and that the king has now great reason for strong hopes, as the nobles and the people desire his return with greater ardour than they formerly exhibited in overthrowing the authority of his predecessor. It is also no less certain that the actions of the general authorize the belief that his intentions are in conformity with the wishes of the nation, although he professes the contrary; and this unanimity having persuaded me that the king's return was, as it were, certain, the idea occurred to me, before I received any orders, to induce, if possible, the present government to invite the mediation of his Majesty, and to receive their sovereign from his hands rather than from those of Spain: to which it seemed to me that the Presbyterians, who are now in power, might be disposed, that they might have a powerful guarantee of all the conditions upon which they would admit their prince. The attempt, however, which I have made by means of persons interested in the success of this negociation, have not yet produced the desired effect, and this is an overture which could not be made without danger by a private person before the authorities had taken all the requisite precautions for changing the government without involving the country in a war. It is also to be feared that the party leaders who ought to support such a proposition will be diverted from it by the personal advantages which they will derive from private treaties. Already even, the principal posts under the crown are said to be destined for some of them, in which case it is not to be expected that they will take much care to provide for the public interests, or that they will have recourse to foreign mediation, which the king of England will endeavour to avoid so as not to be indebted to any other power for his restoration. The same opinion may be held regarding General Monk, it being to be presumed that he will not consent to give up the sovereignty which he now enjoys in all but the name, and become a subject, unless he is assured of all the advantages that the king can grant him, to deserve which he will desire alone to have the glory of replacing him on the throne, and will not avail himself of the offers of France except in case of extremity; besides which, it being necessary for the accomplishment of such a design, that he should deceive his army and profess himself a republican, he will make great difficulties about listening to any proposition which may force him to declare himself. These difficulties will not prevent me

from doing all in my power for the performance of my orders, and with this view, I shall avail myself of one of those most interested in the fortune of the general, who has already conveyed to him very obliging messages from me, even so far as to assure him that his Majesty would contribute to his elevation. It has seemed to him advisable to dispose him by these marks of esteem to give a better reception to the other propositions with which I might be charged; I am also making preparations for sounding some of the principal members of the Council who have, in former times, declared their intentions to me so openly in favour of the king that they will not take in bad part anything respecting him; and finally, Sir, it is enough to stimulate my little industry and all my cares to know that this service is so agreeable to the king, and so much desired by his Eminence. It may be effected during the interregnum, as it is not to be supposed that any government will be formed before the meeting of the next parliament; that one which dates its origin from 1640, has at last voluntarily dissolved upon the 26th of this month. Up to this moment every one had doubted its dissolution, and it was thought that the deputies of whom this assembly was composed would rather recall the king than leave the merit of that step to others, even if it would not besides have been to their interest to efface in this way the recollection of the evils which they have caused. The will of the general prevailed over these considerations, and there appeared only three voices against so violent a resolution, which was adopted, after having left the Council of State rather ample powers, and passed an act for the convocation of the new parliament, including the clause that it should not be prejudicial to the rights of the nobility, which some even wished to extend to the prerogatives of the king; the establishment of the militia was also determined upon, notwithstanding the letter which the general wrote on the same day to the Speaker to suspend it. He showed this zeal in order to satisfy his officers and some republicans; but the deputies whom the parliament sent to him induced him by their reasons to cease his opposition. It is affirmed, nevertheless, that he has promised to prevent its execution in order to appease the army, the intentions of which appear in a very different aspect from that which they exhibited last week. It is also stated as a fact that, on the evening before the parliament dissolved, the general made use of very

precise language towards the republicans, and some of them spoke against royalty with their last breath; nevertheless, his conduct shows that he is more and more favourable to a monarchical government, and he has of late given the command of towns, vessels, and troops to notorious royalists. The greater part of the militia of the country has been placed in their hands; Sir George Booth is even to command that of Cheshire; and there arrive daily from Flanders persons known to be attached to the king, and no inquiries are made about their movements. No words could be capable of effacing the impression produced by this behaviour; and consequently no one doubts that, unless the army revolts soon, it will be obliged to receive the law and consent to its own destruction, which is projected by changing the old officers, and re-organizing all the corps one after another. The Council of State began to meet on the day before yesterday, and its first step has been to issue, to-day, public prohibitions of all assemblies under any pretext whatever; a proclamation to send back the royalists and Catholics to their ordinary places of residence, and another to make the officers withdraw to their quarters. The first two seem to have been framed only with a view to give a colour to the last, as it is not a great mortification to send the nobility back to the country, whither they are, moreover, summoned by the election of the members of parliament, which now occupies all minds. * * *

(51.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, April 1, 1660.

I HAD postponed until to-day writing an answer to the letter which it pleased your Eminence to write to me on the 13th of last month, in the hope of sending you at the same time an account of the success which might have attended my efforts to execute the orders sent me by M. de Brienne: but, not having yet been able to obtain an interview with the general, or see that person who can give me most information about his views, I can only assure your Eminence of my entire devotedness to the service expected of me, and that I shall employ in it all the circumspection of which I am capable. I can also confirm all that my previous letters have stated regarding the present disposition of England to recall the king. The members of the Council openly profess that they have this intention, and although the general still keeps up the hopes

of the republicans, he has nevertheless declared that he will submit to the resolutions of the ensuing parliament, and will do his best to keep the army in the same obedience and declare itself for the king, as it is not doubted for a moment that the nobility and people will elect deputies well-affectioned towards him. Words have also escaped from the general, in his family, which give reason to believe him altogether pledged to favour the king's return even if the parliament opposed it, and his actions are in great conformity with such a design. If it is already formed, the good offices of another power will not be necessary, and the steps I am taking will only manifest his Majesty's inclinations, of which the royalists appear to be fully persuaded since the journey of Lord Jermyn and Abbé Montague. If the general were still wavering between the recall of the king and acceptance of the sovereignty which has been offered him by the republicans, he might be determined to one or the other course by the dispositions of France; but his ambition must be limited to the highest fortune of a subject, since he allows the whole nation to be armed under the command of nobles and gentlemen known to be passionately attached to the royal family. As for a republican government, it is no longer mentioned, except in the addresses of the regiments of the whole army, which the Council intends to disband as soon as the militia is organized, at which all parties are diligently labouring. Some are desirous that at the same time the heads of the government should propose the conditions upon which the king shall be received, and do not consider themselves safe if he is to dispose of the militia, money, commissions, appointments, and the choice of his Council. These limitations may nevertheless be proposed at first to appease those who apprehend the revolution, and it is deferred until the next parliament meets. This body will be composed of young persons who, not having been engaged in the war, will not make use of all these precautions; preparations are also being made to regulate religion according to the example of the Protestant faith in France, both in doctrine and in ecclesiastical discipline; and, during the last few days the ministers have felt great grief because the king of England has made some bishops. As the Presbyterians, who are now in power, formerly appeared more inclined towards France than to Spain, I had the idea that they might be persuaded to seek the king from their friends rather than from their

enemies, and the overtures which were made to some of them on this point were favourably received; but many others judge it more advisable that he should retire into Holland or to Cologne, that they may treat with him more conveniently, and without exciting the jealousy of the two crowns. This course will probably be pursued, and the reports which have been spread of his retirement into Flanders seem rather to have derived their foundation from this, than from any disposition to a peace between England and Spain. It is very true that the parliament, a few days before the readmission of the excluded members had some thoughts of making an accommodation, and receiving money for Dunkirk and Jamaica: if its administration had continued a little longer, it would have depended upon Spain only to put an end to the war, which we may say has largely contributed to the great animosity of the people, and particularly of the City of London, against the last parliament, on account of the injury which it has done to trade, and which has been attributed to the domestic divisions of the nations, since which this city has become more powerful than it ever was under the kings. The present government, in order to please it, has first professed to be desirous of peace, and it will easily be perceived that the king is under too great obligations to Spain to continue the war. Letters from Flanders even assure us that the Duke of York has accepted the command of the naval forces of Spain, with the title of Prince of the Sea, and the same prerogatives as were enjoyed by Don John of Austria, under Philip II. Nevertheless, during the last few days, the propositions of the Portuguese ambassador have been more favourably listened to, and there is a strong disposition not to enter into a league with this prince, but to permit and assist him to levy all the infantry that he may need, even to lend him vessels for their transport, and to send others, at his cost, against the coast of Spain, to thwart its designs against Portugal, the separation of which is considered very necessary. This good will, which proceeds in part from a desire to remove the old troops from England, would not be compatible with a treaty of peace, and apparently the negociation will be put off until the government is established. I will not fail to make every effort to learn what passes upon this subject, and give you an account of it. I have had occasion to speak at some length on behalf of the Swedes, at a conference with some commissioners of the

Council who paid me a visit: after having declared to them that the king would be glad to see the government of England in the hands of those who at all times have shown themselves to be well-intentioned towards France, I invited them to unite with us in securing the preservation of the crown of Sweden and the advancement of the peace of the North, exaggerating its condition to them, and the steps which his Majesty had taken in order both to frustrate the Emperor's designs, and bring the United Provinces to an accommodation. In answer to my civilities, they declared that it was their wish to fall in with his Majesty's views, and to contribute by all means in their power to the maintenance of good feeling between the two states: but their language with regard to the interests of Sweden was not so decisive. I, nevertheless, remain persuaded that the Council is disposed to act in concert with France, and we agreed that, in that case, the English ministers resident at the Hague and in Zealand shall press the King of Denmark and the States-General to accept the treaties which they themselves proposed before the death of the king of Sweden, and which the governors of the kingdom have since offered to sign, abandoning their pretensions to the bailiwick of Drontheim, which seemed to form the chief difficulty. But if the good offices of France and England produce no effect, and if the king of Denmark resolves to take advantage of the present conjuncture to return into possession of the territory which he ceded by the treaty of Roskield, the said ministers will declare their opposition to this step, and will accompany their protest by some menaces; and we shall then advise upon the means of forcing him to an accommodation, and this plan will be communicated beforehand to the Dutch ambassador resident here. I shall require to be still more particularly assured of the sentiments of the Council. These commissioners having affected to speak only on their own authority and without orders, I reminded them of the entreaties which have been made on the part of the United Provinces to induce England not to pay the new tax of a crown for every ton of freight; and they agreed that every state might act as it pleased in regard to itself, and that no resolution should be taken upon this subject before they had communicated it to me. These are the principal points which we discussed. I took care to let fall, when the conversation allowed it, some words which gave them to understand that the king wished

that England might enjoy peace at home as well as abroad, and was not less disposed than in past times to contribute to both; but these expressions of good will were not taken up and produced nothing but general thanks, and it is to be presumed that those who are in a position to contribute to the king's restoration will think it more advantageous to treat directly with him than to accept the mediation of France. Nothing of importance has occurred during the last few days, except that the officers of the army have drawn up a declaration conformable to their first propositions; but the general has caused it to be suppressed, and they have not undertaken anything since. The City of London has not failed to offer a refuge both to the general and to the Council of State, to preserve them from the danger to which the discontent of the army seemed to expose them: they have not considered it right to accept this offer, and thus the evil has not been found so great as the citizens thought it was. For greater precaution, the Council had obtained parole from the principal reformed officers, and those who refused to take this pledge have been imprisoned. The parliament had instructed the Council of State to take sureties from Lambert, but they have judged it more advisable to keep him in confinement than to grant him liberty. All the nobility have gone into the country to organize the militia and work in the elections. It only remains for me, &c. * * *

(52.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, April 5, 1660.

NOTHING of importance has occurred, to my knowledge, since the 1st of this month; and all ideas seem now to run on the establishment of the militia, and the election of the parliament, which are drawing all persons into the country. One regiment, at some considerable distance from London, is said to have mutinied; but the others remain in obedience. This is not a revolt worthy of much consideration. The General has cashiered several colonels, and given their commissions to gentlemen who are considered to be inclined towards royalty. He is also preparing to disband four regiments, and by these reforms to reduce the troops to that footing which they should be on, in order to give no opposition to the establishments which the new parliament may wish to make. The General still declares that he will introduce no innovations until it

begins its session. I visited him on the day before yesterday, and conveyed to him the message with which your Eminence intrusted me, without obtaining from him anything beyond general thanks, notwithstanding the care that I took to induce him to be more explicit with regard to the offer of friendship, and the desire of your Eminence that he should repose as much confidence in you as the deceased Protector had done: he gave no further explanations on the subject of the government of England, and reiterated that it would be established only by the new parliament. We next spoke of the affairs of Sweden and Portugal; and I found him rather disposed to assist the former, if the King of Denmark refuses the accommodation which has been proposed to him. He confirmed to me what I had previously heard of the resolution adopted by the Council, to allow the ambassador of Portugal to levy all the infantry which his sovereign may require, and to lend him ships for their transport. This is all that I was able to derive from this visit, except excuses that he had not yet called upon me. His wife's brother has since visited me, and I gave him further explanations, assuring him that your Eminence would be very glad to make known to the General the esteem which you feel for him: I even offered him your mediation, when he told me that the General had not taken any measures with the King of England, avowing, nevertheless, that if he becomes disposed to his return, he has taken upon himself to make the proposition spontaneously, and to see me again. But I cannot believe that they have waited until this time to make some private treaty. There are, at present, in London, persons accredited on the part of the king. If that which is reported is true, they insinuate that the Queen of England is excepted from the accommodation, together with all the English of her household. It is also to the interest of those who are in Flanders to believe that they are exchanging these good offices underhand, and the Presbyterians will easily be induced to humour them on this point. I have even heard lately that the Council, so as not to be obliged to grant the return of the queen, will not seek the mediation of France. I will remove these scruples, if possible; and will continue my endeavours to induce this government to do what his Majesty desires of it. * * * There are news from Ireland, which represent the assembly of that country to be very much at union with the army, to remain, in some method,

independent of England. Neither the Council nor the General are satisfied with this proceeding, which may materially hasten their determinations. It only remains for me to write that General Montague has set out for the fleet; Vice-Admiral Lawson, who is in command of it, does not appear very well satisfied at the downfall of the sectaries; nevertheless, it is not expected that he will refuse to obey. I am, &c.,

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(53.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, April 12, 1660.

I HAVE not received any news for a long while, either from the General or his wife's brother; it has, however, been reported to me by another authority that the leaders of the Council have of late discussed the proposition which I made, of the mediation of France to reconcile the King of England and the Parliament; and that they are divided in opinion, some wishing to treat with him either in Flanders or some neutral town, such as Cologne or Breda, and others that he should proceed to France to receive their propositions. The first wish is in conformity with the desire of the ministers of this prince, who, by means of their friends, are straining every nerve to prevent us from having any part in the accommodation, and also to exclude from it the Queen of England, with all her household. To this end they make use of a number of suppositions, and amongst others, in order to excite the popular fury against France, they assert that the king is willing to undertake to restore the monarch of England with an army; that Abbé Montague has gone to give him assurances of his purpose; that already even preparations are being made in France for its performance; and that a marriage is projected, in consideration for which his Majesty will spare no pains to make the enterprise succeed, in which case the people of England will be deprived of all their prerogatives, and the authority of the parliaments will be destroyed; whereas, by treating directly with the king, he will grant all that may be judged necessary for the preservation of both. It is even insinuated that Spain would keep the king back, rather than allow France the glory of the treaty; and the same persons also make use of the pretext of religion against the Queen of England, representing that her return would entail liberty of conscience for the Catholics; but their principal fear is, that she will gain possession of the king's mind,

and withdraw him from state affairs. I see that some of the heads of the government are not much affected by these considerations; and, in order to confirm them in their present good disposition, I assure them that his Majesty would exact no condition opposed either to the laws of England, or to the safety of those who have been mixed up in the recent commotions; and that it would not be to his interest that they should be out of office, as he believes they are well-affectioned towards France. I have also given some to understand that their private interests might be attended to, and that your Eminence would feel obliged by the confidence reposed in him in this conjuncture. It cannot be predicted what will be the issue of these advances, so long as the General refuses to speak; and if, as I understand, his accommodation is already made with the king, he will conform to his intentions, which will apparently be opposed to the mediation of any foreign state. I discussed this matter at considerable length with Mr. Thurloe, who paid me a visit on the day before yesterday. He began by a declaration that he had come in his private capacity to thank me for the politeness I have shown him since his return to office; nevertheless, after this compliment, he passed on to speak of public affairs, affecting to be ignorant of what had taken place of late between France and England. He informed me that the government was very jealous of us; that all the advices from Flanders and France declared that the greater part of his Majesty's troops were destined to the service of the king of England, and that his marriage was decided upon; that Abbé Montague had gone to Flanders to fetch him from thence, and convey to him these resolutions, and that they were even confirmed by the agents of this prince. He added that, although the people of England were disposed to receive him, neither the Council nor the army would admit him with foreign troops, or without conditions, so that the supreme power might still remain in their hands; that if he refused them, and attempted to come back by other means, they would all unite against his return, and would have no difficulty in preventing it, as the army and part of the nation are so much opposed to it. I assured the secretary that there did not appear to me to be any foundation for all these reports, and that I had orders to declare that his Majesty desired to maintain perfect unanimity with the government of England; that I had been sent hither with very

precise instructions, and that nothing had occurred since to give reason to believe that he had changed his views: that if any individuals attempted to give contrary impressions, it was to prevent the government from remembering the good offices which his Majesty formerly interposed to stop the course of divisions between the king and the people of England, and from having recourse to him on the present occasion; and I took occasion to say that, far from any hostile measures being contemplated in France, I had been ordered to give them to understand that, if his mediation could contribute to the welfare of the nation, he would gladly employ it, and would even receive with pleasure any request that might be made to him to intervene, as a very obliging token of the confidence which the government reposed in his friendship. I accompanied this overture by every argument that was adapted to render it agreeable, and to induce the secretary to support it whenever occasion should offer; and he very solemnly protested to me that he would do all in his power to cause measures to be taken here, whether the king is recalled or the republic established, which shall closely unite France and England, repeating that, in either case, those who were now in power would retain the chief authority; that the most zealous, who were in appearance for the king, will easily change their minds when they find themselves in power; and that he could not answer for the conduct of the next parliament, as so numerous a body is subject to factions, and the least division might restore the courage of the army, which is as much opposed to the king as ever. Mr. Thurloe next passed from these general expressions to particulars, and asked me how a negociation could be carried on through France during the removal of the court, if the King of England would repair thither, and if Spain did not arrest him as soon as she suspected his intentions. I satisfied him on this point, by assuring him that, as soon as your Eminence was informed of the desire which existed here, you would take care to obtain a speedy resolution from the King of England, and would take measures against the hindrances which might arise on the part of Spain. The conclusion of all this conversation was a promise from the secretary to think the matter over, and to see me again in a few days. I gathered from his expressions, and from the warmth with which he spoke to me, that the jealousies of the Council are great, and fomented

by the agents of the king of England, in order, perhaps, to inspire alarm here, and thus to hasten his return upon more advantageous terms; but this is a very dangerous policy, it being presumable that the heads of the government will rather adopt the views of the army than expose themselves to the animosity of the royalists, whom they have offended. In common with many others, I perceive less inconvenience in acquiescence with the conditions which will be required here, since, whatever they may be, if the parliament is once dissolved and the army disbanded, the king will meet with no opposition to the re-establishment of the authority enjoyed by his predecessors, as the militia is in the hands of nobles and gentlemen, whose interest it is to diminish the power of the people. I learn, also, from my conversation with the secretary, that the English who are with the king, are not on good terms with those of the queen's retinue, and that the former, of their own accord or by order, are attempting to prevent her from having any part in the accommodation; in which they will probably succeed, notwithstanding the inclination of some who have of late written to Brussels, to complain in this respect of the conduct of Mr. Mordaunt, an emissary of Chancellor Hyde. The former maintain no more connection with me than the others, but all are trying to gain over the general, who does not explain his views, but refers them to the next parliament; whence it is supposed that his private treaty is already made, there being otherwise no likelihood that he would leave all the glory to this assembly, as well as the power which it might easily use to his prejudice and that of the ministers of the present government. I have no other part to take in all these intrigues, in order to perform the last orders which were forwarded to me, except to assure all of his Majesty's goodwill, to offer them my services both with the general and my acquaintances in the Council, and to propose an accommodation through the mediation of France, without excluding the queen: to this work I have applied myself for several days, and I shall continue to do so until the conclusion of the business, which does not seem likely to occur before the meeting of parliament. Secretary Thurloe told me, in the course of our conversation, that as the letters from the North have not brought certain intelligence of an accommodation between the kings of Sweden and Denmark, the Council of State had resolved to send, by the secretary of the

plenipotentiaries who are in Zealand, orders to them and to Mr. Downing to speak at the Hague and to the king of Denmark, in conformity with the proposition which I made at my last conference; and I was requested to inform MM. de Thou and de Terlon of this, that, on their side, they might continue to urge both states as before; which I undertook to do, assuring them that his Majesty would take in very good part the disposition which exists here to act in concert with him for the reconciliation of these two princes. We also spoke of the affairs of Portugal, and of the permission which the Council was going to grant it to levy as many as twelve thousand infantry: and the Secretary having given me to understand that England would take charge of this crown if the interests of the North did not divert her attention, I told him that France would discharge her from the latter duty upon that condition, and undertake single-handed, the defence of the Swedes, but that there was no reason to hope that she would engage, before the return of the King of England, in such an important enterprise, especially as I know that the inclinations of this prince would tend rather to favour Spain than her enemies. He again repeated to me that they would tie his hands so as to take from him the liberty of making peace and war, and that the overture which I had made might be adopted without the appearance, or even, the intervention of any treaty; which, nevertheless, is not very likely. I should rather think that foreign affairs will be postponed until the King is established, and no one can form a decisive judgment upon what will happen when the supreme authority is in other hands. The interests of Denmark will then receive greater consideration than those of the King of Sweden, and I have already informed his ministers of this, as they were flattering themselves that they should be benefited by the revolution to which all things are tending. The deputies, who have been elected in various places, and among others in London, are very favourable to it, and the commissioners for the establishment of the militia are giving the command of it to the most qualified among the nobility. The old troops clearly perceive that this tends to their destruction; nevertheless, they do not dare to revolt, and a Colonel who appeared discontented was not in a position to disobey the orders of the General, who has cashiered him. Some plots for debauching the soldiers in London, have also been discovered; and it has been found that some were pro-

jecting the appointment of agitators, as in past times, to take care of their private interests. But this plan also has been frustrated by the imprisonment of its projector, and by the prohibitions of the Council. The sectaries have, at the same time, been suspected of having contributed a large sum of money to bribe the soldiers, and some pains have been taken during the last few days to discover the depositories of this collection, which is, perhaps, a supposition in order to render them more odious, it being certain that their number is not sufficient to prevent the projected establishments, unless the whole of the old army should rise with them. Ireland is still in the same state, and the Council has despatched orders for the dissolution of the assembly of Dublin, which still continues to meet. Scotland is very tranquil under the command of Major-General Morgan, who served formerly in Flanders; and it only remains for me to subscribe myself, &c.

(54.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, April 19, 1660.

THE advances which I have made both to the General and to Mr. Thurloe, not having prevented the Council of State from inclining to treat with the King of England in Holland, and by the mediation of the States-General, rather than by that of his Majesty, I have, by other means, inspired the most influential members of the Council and some of the chief nobles of the Presbyterian faction, with the desired sentiments. One of the former has just given me his word, that they will invite the prince to pass into France, and there receive the propositions of the parliament, and that, in case any difficulty arises about the accommodation, the mediation of France will be solicited. They desire, nevertheless, that at the same time his Majesty should make the offer to the King of England, and assure him that he shall be received in any maritime town which may appear to him most convenient. I have promised both, as soon as the present state of feeling becomes known in France, that his Majesty will take in good part all the confidence reposed in him by the principal ministers of the English government, that he will promote a reconciliation by all means in his power, and that your Eminence will take particular care of their interests. I must not conceal from you that, in the various conferences which I have had with several of them, they have questioned

me repeatedly about the marriage of the King of England, and state that the nation felt great apprehensions respecting that alliance which public report says has been negociated by Abbé Montague; being persuaded that, besides the injury which the Protestant religion would receive from such an union, the counsels of your Eminence might tend to raise too high the power of the English monarch. I was not sufficiently well informed to speak positively of the fact, but I gave them clearly to understand that, even if the report were well founded, neither the religion nor the prerogatives of the people would, in consequence, be in a worse condition than if under another queen; for the rest, they would find it more advantageous to favour than to oppose it, since your Eminence would in that case have more power to secure to them all the public and private conventions which might be stipulated in an accommodation. One who came to see me this afternoon, did not fail to refer to this subject in order to inform me that the publication of this marriage should be postponed, until the king of England has made an agreement with the parliament, and to assure me that in the conditions which will be presented to him, no mention will be made of it, so that he may retain entire liberty to follow his inclinations in the matter. I continued to declare that I had very little information on the subject, and did not fail to assure him, on the other hand, that your Eminence would feel greatly obliged by the good-will which they manifest towards you by their resolutions, and by their wish to remove all obstacles calculated to overthrow an establishment in which you would be so much interested. I have also been visited, this afternoon, by an English earl, who came to inform me that a resolution had been adopted by some of his order, to despatch a gentleman this evening to the queen, to inform her that they wish that the king of England would pass into France, to concert measures with her for drawing him thither, and to take a course which will be determined by the news which this envoy brings back; she will also contribute to induce them to place entire confidence in me, which was necessary in order to enable me to perform the service required of me. I have informed M. de Brienne of this, that he may announce to the queen of England that I am acting by order, and that she may not make this negociation take another course; from which it will be perceived that, if no change takes place in the present state of feeling, the king of England will be

obliged to repair to France, notwithstanding the repugnance which his ministers feel to such a proceeding, and the mediation of his Majesty will be solicited, if any difficulty is thrown in the way of the treaty: which I think will probably occur, as the rulers of the kingdom and all the Presbyterians declare that they will not receive him without rather rigorous conditions, which the royalists affirm that he will never accept. I have communicated to the former, that we should not be opposed to any condition which had reference to their safety, in order to remove the scruples which many entertained about trusting to France, through fear that your Eminence would free the royal authority from all restraint; and I may say that, in making this declaration, I have spoken in accordance with the opinions of the wisest royalists, who think that the restoration of the monarchy is not to be expected without some limitation. If any advances are found to be in conformity with his Majesty's intentions, I shall continue to act and speak in the same manner, and it will be necessary to perform what I have led them to hope in reference to the offer of mediation, and the reception of the king of England in some maritime town of Picardy. As the approach of the parliament gives reason to believe that the affairs of England will be brought to some issue before his Majesty's return from the frontier, and the absence of your Eminence will not enable me to receive your orders in regard to any accidents that might arise, you will be pleased also to let me know in advance what you think should be done for the king's service in this conjuncture, and whether the correspondence which I maintain with some of the leaders of the government, might be made to contribute to the advancement of his designs. When I am better informed, I shall be better able to act. Nothing of any importance has occurred abroad during the last few days. General Monk continues to reform the army, and remove from it the old officers and soldiers to fill up their places by men of more obedient minds. He has presented an engagement, on his own part, during the last few days, to those who remain in office, by which they bind themselves to conform to whatever the next parliament may judge advisable for the welfare of the nation. The houses of some noted sectaries have been searched, and some arms found; and, under the pretext of some apprehension of their ill-will, Colonel Lambert has been

imprisoned in the Tower of London. The elections are continued daily without paying much attention to the qualifications appointed by the late parliament, and in some localities royalists have been elected. Colonel Massey, one of the most zealous of this party, and who formerly did not dare to appear in England, has not scrupled to offer himself for election, and having found the people of Gloucester well-disposed towards him, some disorder arose between them and the soldiers, to appease which the Council sent for the colonel; but after having heard him, he was set at liberty, and no one is refused permission either to enter or leave England. The secretary of the plenipotentiaries who are in Denmark, was sent off last week with the orders which I requested might be given him. The ministers of Sweden assured me that the States-General had disapproved of the cessation of hostilities, agreed upon by their ministers in Zealand, and the other mediators, because the king of Denmark had refused to accept the treaty which was offered to him; but I do not see this news in the letters of M. de Thou, and the Dutch ambassador declares that his superiors desire nothing so ardently as peace in those quarters. He even came himself to read to me the answer of the States-General to his Majesty, accompanying it by many fine protestations, but without mentioning the speech of M. de Thou. There still appears to exist a favourable disposition towards Portugal, and the ambassador expects to-morrow to obtain a favourable resolution upon his propositions requesting permission to levy twelve thousand men for the service of his prince, without any limitation of time. The idea has occurred to obtain from him some advantages in return for this concession, such as liberty of conscience for the English residents in Portugal; but he has no power to grant anything, and his predecessor in the embassy was disavowed for having given himself a little too much liberty in this respect. You will have learnt from other sources that the suspension of hostilities between Dunkirk and Flanders, is prorogued for six weeks. There is no news from Scotland; Ireland still remains in the same state, and the assembly at Dublin has not dissolved, or given any heed to the orders sent from here: deputies are expected to arrive from that country in a few days, and it is generally believed that they have sent to the king of England, with propositions. The same report has lately been spread with regard to the General. I am, with respect, &c.

(55.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, April 22, 1660.

I HAVE been again assured, during the last few days, that the majority of the Council hold the same views as I stated in my preceding letter, and that the king of England will be invited to repair to France, in order to treat with the parliament through the mediation of his Majesty, if any difficulty arises respecting the accommodation. I observe also a great change of opinion with regard to the queen, and those who appeared most opposed to her return are now most favourable to it, having adopted this view together with the resolution to invite the king into France. Chancellor Hyde's agents continue to oppose it, and have already induced him to go to Breda, in order that, finding himself removed thither, the negociation may be opened there, and being continued there, that minister may have a greater share in it than if the treaty were made in France. As he proposes munificent rewards to everybody, and is considered to have great influence over his master, those who regard only their own private advantage will probably defer to this desire, without caring very much which course would be most honourable or most useful to the nation. It is, moreover, greatly to be feared that private accommodations, or the general inclination which now exists to recall the King without conditions, will frustrate the measures which the leaders of the Council are taking, and that the approaching parliament will disregard all the considerations which they may urge in order to restrain the youthful ardour of the members of that assembly. The General alone is capable of preventing these results, and he professes that he will not lay down his arms, until both public and private interests have been placed in entire safety. Nevertheless, complete belief is not given to his words, and he begins to be more reserved than before towards those ministers of the Council whom he once treated with the greatest confidence: which has led them to suspect the existence of some private treaty, especially since the journey which one of his relatives has made to Brussels. Some are even persuaded that he will recall the King before the parliament meets, in order to obtain for himself all the merit of the action, and the Council repents that it did not take this course; but it is now too late, as the session of the parliament is so near at hand, and the ministers of State hold too conflicting

opinions to come to an agreement in so short a time. Some are desirous to follow exactly the treaty of the Isle of Wight, others wish to append additional restrictions thereto, and some are willing to content themselves with the safeguard of the ancient laws of the realm: this last opinion is held in common with the people. This diversity of opinions will not prevent some resolution from being taken, perhaps even before I can receive orders and instructions, with regard to the course which I shall have to pursue in the event of the King's return into England. His return may perhaps be hastened also by the jealousy excited by Lambert's escape from the Tower of London. It is believed that he must have some plans in connexion with the sectaries, and some of them have hinted to several discontented officers that in a few days they might be able to give them employment. A proclamation was issued yesterday to order the prisoner to surrender within twenty-four hours, and 100*l.* sterling were offered to any one who should apprehend him. The danger does not, however, seem to be very great now that the old troops have been reduced, by the change of officers, to such a condition that they have presented to the General a declaration assuring him of their submission to all that he, the Council, or the Parliament may think it advisable to do for the establishment of the civil government. Such obedience does not exist in the army in Ireland. The assembly at Dublin still continues to meet, and has ordered the arrest of a number of the Catholic nobility, under the pretext of some insurrection. It is confidently affirmed, that their deputies have offered to receive the King of England, upon certain conditions, the principal of which has reference to the disposal of the confiscated lands, which he has refused to confirm, as it would be to ruin those who have followed him; but the army will also have some difficulty in resolving to leave go its hold. Scotland has of late talked of following the example of Ireland, and it has been discovered that a quantity of arms had been conveyed thither; one of the principal men of that country has, however, assured me that no movement will take place until they see what England will do; and she will be obliged to go faster than the Council and the Presbyterians wished, in order not to be anticipated. The Presbyterians are beginning to be apprehensive of the bishops, whose entire abolition they are determined to demand, and some ministers, during the last few days, have preached

against the impiety of the royalists, as well as against the extravagance of the sectaries, not anticipating less danger from one party than from the other; and some have been so unrestrained in their discourse, that the General was yesterday, at his own table, compelled to maltreat a gentleman, formerly a colonel in the troops of the King of England, and afterwards to send him to prison, for having publicly made use of threats against those who have taken any part in the revolutions, without considering that they are the same persons who are now at the head of affairs. The people, in several counties, have appeared incensed against them, and have refused to vote for them. These are, my Lord, the present inclinations and actions of this country, my narration of which I will not fail to continue by every post. There is nothing from abroad, except the confirmation of what the Dutch ambassador told me regarding the peace with Denmark, which is advancing even more rapidly than it did in Poland. I am, &c.

(56.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, April 26, 1660.

I CANNOT yet inform you of any progress in the affairs of this country, as nothing has occurred during the last few days; profession is still made to me of a great disposition to negociate in France, and at the present moment the principal members of the Council are assembled with the nobles who have taken part against the king, in order to settle the conditions, the manner, and the place of accommodation, so that the matter may be thoroughly digested when the parliament meets. It is also to be decided what noblemen shall take their seats in the Upper House, and although their decrees are not to be considered as laws, we may judge from this step what course the negociation will probably take. Chancellor Hyde's agents neglect no means of preventing France from having a share in it, and they accompany private offers by a declaration that the king will accede to whatever may be desired of him; this course appears more likely to be taken by the ministers than that of contesting anything, and thus giving a plea for demanding his withdrawal from affairs, as some desire, and among others those who are favourable to the queen. It has also been reported to me that offers of money are being made through the States-General, and that the princess-dowager

proposes the marriage of her daughter to the king of England, and the pretext of religion would make such a marriage very agreeable here; nevertheless, those of the Council whom I know, are anxious to thwart the scheme, and with this view to withdraw the king from Holland, if possible. I left them again this morning, in the full intention of sending an accredited envoy to Breda; which would have been done before now, but for fear of giving umbrage to the general, whom they hope to gain over to their views. One of his relations has, however, conveyed propositions to the king on his behalf, and if they are well received, the others will have some difficulty to succeed in their plans, as the decision of affairs lies in his hands. The time for decision is not far off, and, according to some statements, it will be announced before I shall be able to receive letters of credence to the king of England. This is not an unfounded opinion, since, on one hand, those here are anxious to lose no time, and the interests of the king's ministers urge them to avoid all delays and interventions. There also appears to be a disposition to an insurrection among the sectaries, and since the escape of Lambert some of the old colonels are no longer to be found in their houses. The general's company of guards has been sent out of London to repress any tumult that may arise, and some of the most distinguished sectaries have already been arrested. Strict watch is also maintained every night in the city of London, and the general has changed the garrison of the Tower, under the pretext that some of the officers had favoured the escape of Lambert, to whom it was said that liberty would be granted upon his parole, but that his wife has declined the offer: he is not, however, in a position to do any mischief unless all the army revolts, and this is not at all to be feared now that all the suspected officers have been cashiered. To retain the soldiers in their obedience, they have been promised payment of their arrears, and, as they are so scattered, they would have great difficulty in uniting with one another before they were defeated by the militia of the country. I am, &c.

(57.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 3, 1660.

I HAD nothing to write by the preceding post, as the affairs of England were then in the same state as my last letter had informed you. Since then, great alarm has been

felt about an insurrection of sectaries in different localities; some had assembled in the neighbourhood of York, with the intention of taking it by surprise; and, at the distance of twenty leagues from London, Colonel Lambert had gathered together a body of cavalry which the first accounts stated to consist of three hundred men. Orders were immediately given to send against him most of the troops which are in London; the levy of the London militia was also directed to hold itself in readiness, and that of several counties, which has not been set on foot to be placed within the hands of persons considered to be too violent royalists, was also ordered out. At the same time some of the most distinguished sectaries both in this city and in the country were arrested, and the general was making preparations to go and attack Lambert before he could increase his forces; but news arrived at the end of last week, that he had only two or three hundred men, and this morning we were informed of his defeat by a party of six hundred horse without much bloodshed; his troops having abandoned him one after another, he was taken prisoner with a few others who have been officers in the army, and they are on their way to London. The militia were immediately countermanded, and the universal topic of conversation now is the punishment of the offenders, whose leader was proclaimed a traitor on the day before yesterday. His capture seems entirely to ruin all his party, against which the people entertain so great an aversion that unless the old troops had mutinied, it could not have met with better fortune. Some royalists could have wished it to hold out a little longer, in the hope that the present authorities would have been thereby compelled to hasten the return of the king upon more advantageous conditions; whereas they will now have entire liberty to act, and will perhaps impose harsher conditions, as they have nothing to fear from the sectaries. There has been a great contest of late between those noblemen who have been engaged in the war since the year 1648, and the others, because the former are desirous alone to constitute the Upper House; the general supports their design, and even presents his name to authorize it, professing that he would not be able to restrain the army if those who have not been on the side of the parliament were admitted, as most of them would advocate the recall of the king without any other limitation to his authority than that of the ancient laws. The question was

discussed at Whitehall, on the day before yesterday, between the general and some of the noblemen who are to take their seats, and to-day, the others having gone to press him, they rather irritated than persuaded him; it is even proposed now to exclude from the House of Commons a hundred or six score members who are found not to possess the qualifications fixed by the last act of the parliament, through fear that if they are allowed to enter, they will be too violent for the king, and that some question will arise in the assembly as to how the Upper House shall be constituted; which might very probably happen even if the exclusion took place, as there would remain enough other members equally opposed to all the projected limitations, of which those that are most difficult to digest have reference to the *veto* upon the parliaments, and the disposal of offices and places in the Council. It appears to me, nevertheless, that they will only be brought forward in order to obtain from the king some particular advantages in favour of the heads of the government and of the fifteen noblemen who compose the Upper House. There are none who do not neglect the public advantage in order to attend to their own private interests; but both good and evil are in the hands of the general, and all appearances indicate that he has resolved to please the king; at least it is certain that his family has particular connexion with the minister Morley, who has been sent here by Chancellor Hyde, to make terms with all parties, even the Tremblers (Quakers), in which he seems to be succeeding. But as he is not equally gracious to all, jealousies are beginning to be felt, which may be prejudicial to the affairs of the king, who I learn has not been again much pressed to proceed into France, according to the assurance which had been given me on the subject by some members of the Council. This resolution meets with considerable opposition, and, not being supported by any offer, cannot but be subjected to change. Some attempts to debauch the soldiers in Ireland have been made on the part of several cashiered officers, but the authors of them were immediately discovered and arrested; the same was attempted with the garrison of Hull with the same success. As for the troops in Scotland, they have sent a declaration, similar to that which the officers here presented to the general some days since, and which the soldiers were afterwards required to sign in order to make more sure of them in the recent conjuncture. All these move-

ments have not prevented the Council of State from signing, three days ago, the treaty which its commissioners had agreed upon with the Portuguese ambassador. It gives his prince permission to raise as many as 12,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry, without limitation as to time; he may also hire vessels for his service, according to the necessity of his affairs, even against the king of Spain; and the ambassador took his leave this morning in order to go and persuade his court to avail themselves of this permission. But it may be presumed that if the king of England returns, obstacles will be thrown in his way; and the people are so persuaded that trade with Spain is of such importance that, with whatever limitations they may hamper the power of the king, he will be left at liberty to make peace with that crown. The affairs of the north leave me nothing to add.

(58.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 6, 1660.

THE letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 16th of last month, gives me only instructions to inform you of what has come to my knowledge regarding the affairs of this country. The parliament began to assemble yesterday; the Commons, after listening to an exhortation, went into their usual room, chose their Speaker and other officers, and then, upon an overture made by the general, appointed a committee to examine into the elections. At the same time the Lords of the year 1648 went also to take their seats and choose their officers; some of the young ones presented themselves at the door in order to enter, affecting to be ignorant of the request which the general had made to two of them, who had visited him on the previous evening, not to take their seats for a few days, assuring them that no injury should accrue to them from this delay; but they allowed themselves to be persuaded to yield to this desire, and retired. Nothing of importance has passed as yet this morning in either House, except that the Commons have recognized the Lords by sending an answer to a proposition for a fast-day made by the latter yesterday. This proceeding is much discussed, and was opposed only by one of the deputies who sat in the preceding parliament. It is also of some consequence that the general now consents to the admission of all the young peers, who will take their seats to-morrow, and

has ceased to talk of excluding from the House of Commons those deputies who were elected in disregard of the qualifications. It is inferred from this, with much reason, that the return of the king will take place more speedily, and on less harsh conditions, and this matter will doubtless be soon brought into consideration. There are still two parties,—one, composed of those who favour Hyde, is anxious that the proposition shall be sent to Breda; the other, devoted to the interests of the Queen of England, desires that the King shall be invited to carry on the negociation in some town in France; and the latter desire that I should continue to support their plans, and this course seems to me to accord with the wish felt by his Majesty to contribute to the restoration of the King of England, which can never take place if he is not in France, and if the parliament remains firm in its present determination to allow no innovations upon the ancient laws of the country. The Presbyterians are ill satisfied about it; but if the general does not keep his word to them, as there is reason to believe he will not, the inclination of the people will be followed, and before the month has elapsed, the King will be in England. Your Eminence knows what it is necessary to prescribe to me, and what course of conduct I shall have to pursue, and whether I am to remain in England until the revolution is completed, which I cannot do without new letters of credence. The House of Commons has also this morning appointed some committees, read an act against vagabonds, and voted thanks both to the general and to the colonel who took General Lambert prisoner without bloodshed; this was not because the latter had only about three or four hundred cavalry, but having approached the troops of the State in the hope that they would join him, his own men changed sides, and he was not sufficiently well-mounted to escape being taken. Only seventeen jacobuses were found upon him. Two of the principal officers of the army shared his fate, and they were all brought to London on the day before yesterday. The Council heard them in their defence immediately; they acknowledged that they had taken arms under the pretext of opposing the royalists, and that if those who had pledged themselves to assist them had performed their promises, a considerable army would have been on foot in a few days. They were sent to the Tower, and a proclamation has been issued against some other officers, commanding them to surrender on pain of being

declared traitors. Several citizens of London are also suspected of being concerned in this conspiracy, and it is intended to extort large sums from the accomplices, although these appear as yet to be only disaffected officers. The London militia met on the day before yesterday; the general was not present, having been requested by the Council not to expose himself. Some regiments shouted *God save the King!* and the tendency of all the people is not now more favourable to him than it was adverse to the deceased king at the beginning of the war. I am, &c.

(59.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 10, 1660.

THE approbation with which your Eminence, in your letter of the 28th of last month, honours my conversation with Mr. Thurloe, leaves me nothing more to desire than that all my offers may produce their due effect. I thought this was almost certain a few days before the meeting of parliament, and the principal members of the Council then thought they would be able to gain the general over to their views, whatever efforts were made to induce him not to take any measures with France; but affairs have, it seems, changed their aspect, and there now appears so strong a desire to recall the king without conditions, that the offer of a place of meeting and of mediators is altogether superfluous; it would not be without some difficulty, even if obstacles arose to an accommodation, that France would be preferred to Breda, although everybody is of opinion that there is no reason to place the one in the scale against the other, since the Chancellor's emissaries declare that the King of England does not wish to treat anywhere else than in Holland or in London, by means of commissioners to whom he will give full powers. It was of this minister, and of the Marquis of Ormonde, that I intended to speak when I wrote that the English who were about the person of the prince were attempting to prevent him from passing into France; their aversion to France has been sufficiently displayed in the reports which they have spread, and in their conduct with regard to me, for I have received no civility from them, although I have communicated to them my orders in respect to their master; they have also declared themselves very strongly against the queen. Nevertheless, if those who desire to see her in authority had been more active, they might have frustrated all the measures of these two ministers, who are generally disliked here, and prevented

the journey of the king to Breda, whither they are of opinion that the queen will proceed, if the negociations are of long continuance. There is no reason to believe this, and the Presbyterians are losing all hope of obtaining conditions now that they find themselves abandoned by the general, upon whom all their expectations were built. After having promised them not to allow any other lords to enter into the Upper House but those who have been engaged in the war against the King, he has contented himself with excluding the young peers for two days, and has declared to them that this was done only to satisfy the others; and those even who have borne arms against the parliament will take their seats. He has consented to the admission of all the members of the House of Commons without regard to qualifications; which leads the army to murmur, and weakens the credit of the Presbyterian party, the leaders of which accuse the general of having duped them. He is not also without cause of complaint against some of them, having discovered that they were making preparations for dividing among themselves all the offices under the crown, and that in order to effect this arrangement more conveniently, the old Lords were desirous alone to compose the Upper House, under the pretext that the others were too great royalists. Their prudence has been frustrated, and the votes of the young members will prevail in both Houses, which have not met since the 11th of the month. The Upper House determined, at its last session, to confer with the Commons upon the form of the government, and in order to prepare for so important a deliberation, to-day has been spent in prayers; to-morrow, therefore, those letters will be read which the King has written to the general, to the Council, and to the officers of the army, dated on the 14th of this (last?) month; they were presented by a gentleman who is a near relative of the general, and who it is said was sent into Flanders by him. He refused to open them except in the parliament; nevertheless, no one doubts but that he is acquainted with their contents, and neither he nor his wife scruple openly to declare their inclination for the restoration of the King. The only difficulty has reference to the conditions; to-morrow we shall hear whether the accommodation is capable of longer delay. As the revolution may occur in a few days, I cannot but await orders with some impatience; it would even have been advisable to send me letters of credence to the parliament, in order that, if the service

of his Majesty or of the King of England requires it, I might be in a position to request an audience. I cannot otherwise act in public, as the House of Lords does not acknowledge my letters to the previous parliament. If it is judged advisable to send me new credentials, let them be with the quality of ambassador extraordinary, as there is no longer any necessity for me to make a protracted stay here, and moreover it will evince greater esteem towards the new government. The general has been confirmed by the Upper House in his office for so long as may be considered necessary, and he continues to change the old officers of the army. My Lord Falconbridge has obtained a regiment of cavalry from him. A number of officers of Lambert's party have been taken of late, and he has made another attempt to escape from the Tower this afternoon. A report is current that the troops in Ireland have been fighting with each other, because one party desired to recall the King with conditions, and the other without any, and that the latter had the advantage: the troops in London have appeared rather restless of late, and spoke of presenting some request for the confirmation of the confiscated lands, some titular proprietors of which have already taken possession without a legal order. This will be one of the principal questions of the accommodation. I am, &c.

(60.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 11, 1660.

THE news which I wrote yesterday will have prepared your Eminence to receive that which I have to communicate to-day, which I think it worth while to forward by an express. As soon as the parliament had met, the President of the Council laid before it the letter which the king had written to the general, but which neither he nor the Council had been willing to open; one of the members at the same time informed the House that a gentleman was at the door on behalf of the king. He was brought in forthwith, and presented another letter, with a declaration, which, in substance, after an enumeration of the evils which have afflicted England for so many years, invites the people to put an end to them by submitting to their old form of government, offers an amnesty for the past with no other exceptions than those whom the parliament shall judge right to exclude from it, refers to it the arrangement of the confiscated lands, appoints a national

council to settle differences of religion, and promises complete satisfaction to the soldiers. The perusal of these letters was followed by several harangues in praise of the king, and the general applause of the whole assembly, which immediately resolved to send deputies to thank him, and voted him 50,000*l.* sterling. The same gentleman had presented to the House of Lords a letter containing the same declaration, and they had adopted a similar resolution of sending deputies to express their gratitude to the king, whom the Speaker called "our sovereign lord." A conference was then held between the commissioners of the two Houses, during which it was determined that England should be governed as in former times, and that means should be taken for obtaining the king's return as quickly as possible. This result was approved of by both Houses, and they are now employed in drawing up an answer to his letter, which is to be presented to him by two lords and four members of the House of Commons. The general has requested permission to reply privately to his own letter, which has been granted him; and the town council has also received one this afternoon, which gave it great satisfaction. Their joy is now manifested by the great number of bonfires which have been lighted, and the other tokens of delight of which an enthusiastic populace are capable. There is no room for doubt but that by the end of this month, or the beginning of next, the business will be entirely settled, and the king in England. Not but that some are anxiously desirous to take precautions for the future; but the excitement is too great, and no one would be willing to draw down upon himself the resentment of the public by propositions which cannot but be rejected, as the general is undoubtedly acting in concert with the king, and the declaration has been agreed on between them. The bearer of the letters is a relation of his, and the same who it is thought was sent into Flanders by him. I have to-day seen some Presbyterians who were greatly cast down by this change without conditions, and they are under apprehensions that the general has stipulated to reserve a portion of the army under the pretext of keeping the sectaries in order, but in reality to maintain the royal authority against the prerogatives of the people. We shall shortly be able to judge with greater certainty, and at present it only appears to me that no preparations are being made yet for disbanding the troops; that the king's declaration will be reduced to the form

of an act of parliament without addition or abridgment; that no further proposition will be made for the exclusion of the Chancellor; that the government will henceforth be administered according to the ancient laws; that the deputies of both Houses will set out in two or three days to convey the first submission of the parliament; and that they will speedily be followed by another more solemn deputation to accompany the king, whose return will take place, according to all appearances, at the beginning of next month. It would be desirable for me to be informed before that period of the course of conduct which I am to pursue in this very extraordinary conjuncture; and this is the reason why I send the present courier to the frontier, unless M. de Brienne judges it more advisable to detain him at Paris. The post of the day after to-morrow will inform you of the consequences of to-day's resolutions. Meanwhile I have only again to entreat your Eminence that if I am ordered to present the first compliments to the King of England, it may be in some higher quality than I have sustained towards the preceding governments, and that, as this will oblige me to incur new expenses, I may receive the necessary funds from the King. I shall expect both these favours from the kindness with which you are pleased to honour, &c.

(61.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 13, 1660.

SINCE my letter of the day before yesterday, the army has followed the example of the Parliament and city; and when the general communicated the King's letters to the officers, they assured him of their obedience by a declaration. Some, however, had a little while before attempted to induce the general's wife to prefer the advantages of sovereign authority to all those which the King of England will bestow upon her family; but she rejected this proposition, and her inclinations have undoubtedly contributed largely to the revolution in the government. Some soldiers were found among the troops who preferred to leave the army rather than submit; but their number is very inconsiderable, and the offer which the King has made, in his declaration and letters to the general, to retain the services of the army, will probably appease their discontent. The Parliament, in pursuance of its resolutions of the day before yesterday, has appointed a Committee to draw up the acts which are to be passed by the

King before his return, and to choose the deputies who are to convey to him the answers both of the Upper House and of the Commons. The anxiety manifested to belong to this deputation has caused the Lords to name six of their body, with the Earl of Oxford at their head, and the Commons will send twelve. The general will also send his answers by his brother-in-law, and the city by some citizens. This large deputation will not leave until the beginning of next week. It has also been resolved by the Upper House that all the Lords shall be invited to take their seats, without excepting either those who have been in arms for the King, or the Catholics; and a proposition was also made to proclaim the King, but it was not adopted, any more than one to request the King not to leave Breda. Besides the present of 50,000*l.* sterling which the Parliament has sent him, and the 6000*l.* sterling which have also been voted for the repairs of Whitehall, the city of London has made him a present of 10,000*l.* sterling, and some private citizens are going to send him 16,000*l.* sterling. Although all vie with each other as to who shall manifest most zeal, there nevertheless exists some fear lest his power will remain too absolute, and will be maintained by an army, which he talks of keeping up. This distrust will probably give rise to some debate upon the proposed acts. No further propositions have been made for withdrawing the King from Breda, as there is no appearance of any negociation, for the voice of the people demands the return of the King, with no other limitation than that of the ancient laws; and in order to banish the idea which was entertained of drawing him into France, those who are acting for the King have published that the ministers of the King of Spain are very much displeased with him, because he refuses to return thither, on the invitation of the Marquis of Caracena. The bad offices which some have been anxious to render the Queen have produced no effect, and there is a strong disposition to grant her all that she can desire from England. I have been requested to convey to her a letter from the general's wife in answer to that which she had received from her; her return into England will, it is thought, balance the power of the Chancellor, and all the parties appear to be already formed; this will be something to occupy attention after the return of the court. Such, my lord, is all that present affairs give me occasion to write to-day. * * *

(62.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 17, 1660.

I HAVE to-day merely to inform you of the progress of the general acquiescence which all England has given to the re-establishment of royalty. General Montague, having received a letter from the King containing the declaration which was read in the Parliament, communicated it to the principal commanders of the fleet, and it was forthwith made known in all the vessels with all the marks of joy which the officers and sailors were able to express. Ireland has displayed similar conduct, and has even gone so far as solemnly to proclaim the King, which seems to have given rise to the resolution adopted by the parliament to-day to perform the same ceremony in London to-morrow, with all the solemnities customary upon such an occasion. It has also been determined this afternoon, in the House of Lords, to invite the King to come to England as quickly as possible. This determination will be communicated to the House of Commons to-morrow, and if it concurs in it, as there is reason to believe it will, although some are not greatly disposed to urge his return, the King will soon be in England, as orders have already been sent to the fleet to hold itself in readiness to take him on board, and news has arrived that he has proceeded to Middleburg. The other debates in the House of Lords during the last few days are of less importance; they had resolved to invite all their members to come and take their seats; and since, under the pretext that this might give occasion for some discontent, they have excepted the Catholic peers from this invitation, without, however, refusing them admission. They have also, upon a complaint made by the sectaries, of some violence done them by the populace, directed the Mayor of London to prevent such disorders; granted to the Duke of Buckingham and three other individuals an act to deprive the possessors of their property, of liberty to dispose of it, or even to make use of the income derived from it; and the answers made by the two Houses to the King's letters have been read. They are worded with all the respect which could be expected from good subjects, and the death of the deceased King is disavowed therein, and even termed a horrible murder. The Commons have, on their side, laboured daily to complete the acts which are to be presented to the King by their deputies. These have reference to the general amnesty, from which all those will be excepted who acted as

judges of the late King, most of whom have already retired from England; the second states that all confiscated property shall remain in the same state as it is now, until new orders are issued; the third sanctions the present Parliament, although it was not, according to custom, summoned by the King, but this is not to be taken as a precedent in future. There is a fourth which relates to religion, and refers its differences to a national synod. The Commons have also consented to the restitution of the property of the Duke of Buckingham and the others; but a similar order having been proposed in favour of another lord, the general put difficulties in the way of granting it, pretending that such a step would be likely to displease the army; which terminated the affair, and even postponed until to-morrow the debate upon the duke's case, most of whose property is in the hands of the Protector's heirs. There are a great many deputies who are of opinion that the presentation of these acts should be deferred until the King's return; but those who are called *Old Presbyterians* desire to have this security before receiving him; and it is even said that some of them have reproached the general because he has taken no precautions for the liberty of the people. Upon to-morrow's debate will depend the speedy return of the King, which, at latest, cannot be deferred beyond the commencement of next month. The deputies of the two Houses will set out in two or three days: the city will send their representatives with them and will charge them with a present of 2,000*l.* sterling for the Dukes of York and Gloucester. The general has already despatched his brother-in-law with his answer and the declaration of the army. It is said that some movement has been executed in Scotland by the sectaries and Presbyterians who were engaged against the King during the late wars, and that even Major General Morgan, who is in command of the troops, supports them; but this is not probable, and the number of those mal-contents would not, moreover, be sufficient to prevent the arrangements which are being made. Many other equally ill-founded reports are current; among others that the King of England is very much displeased with France, that we have a design for supporting an insurrection of Lambert's party, and that I have pressed the general to constitute himself Protector. The general's brother-in-law has undertaken to give testimony as to what has passed on the latter point, and it will be shown

that I have urged him to use language very far removed from such a proposition. The source of all these impressions which it is attempted to give, proceeds from the animosity felt against the Queen and France by some of those who enjoy the King's confidence. It is also pretty openly declared that Sweden has of late greatly disobliged England; but I cannot believe that the court which is about to return will entertain so much bitter feeling, and moreover it will not be in a position to take offence at the past, especially against powerful States. Mr. Lockhart has gone to Breda to make his peace, and the news has been confirmed of late that the ministers of the King of Spain have attempted to entice the English monarch into Flanders, in order to oblige him to restore Dunkirk. It only remains for me to subscribe myself, &c.

(63.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 21, 1660.

THE narration of what has taken place since my last letter will inform your Eminence that the King of England was proclaimed on the day before yesterday, first at Westminster, and then in front of Whitehall and in the city of London, with all the solemnities customary upon such occasions, which, however, are not worth relating. Nothing extraordinary occurred except the demonstrations of joy given by the people. On the same day, bonfires were again lighted in front of all the houses, the Tower guns were fired, and all persons of respectability distributed wine among the people. I thought it right to conform to this example, and advised all the other foreign ministers who consulted me to do the same. It is also to be remarked that the proclamation was made in terms which, it is said, are not generally used, in that they declared that a proclamation is unnecessary, and that the king's right to the crown is indubitably acquired to him by his birth. The arms of the republic, which were in the House of Parliament, were, after having been exposed some time, burned by one of the members of that body who had taken a leading part in the first movements of England. And, in short, every one is attempting to display peculiar zeal, without considering whether the prerogatives of the people, of which they were formerly so jealous, are injured by it or not. The members of parliament, who act with less vehemence, wished to postpone this proclamation; but they did not see any chance of

succeeding, and confined their efforts to a proposition that after having done everything that had reference to the interest of the king, the popular acts should be taken into consideration: and during their last sessions strenuous efforts have been made to complete those which have reference to religion, the amnesty, the sales of confiscated property, and the payment of the arrears due both to the army and navy. In reference to the second point, it was proposed to shut up the ports in order to prevent the escape of those who had any share in the death of the king; but it was judged more advisable to leave the door open, and all of them are not even excepted from pardon. It was also considered that those who have acted as Judges in the high Courts of Justice, or as members of the Committee of Safety, ought not to be admitted to the benefit of the act which confirms the sales or gifts of confiscated lands, from the number of which those of the Duke of Buckingham and three others have been excepted. The idea had occurred to some of the servants of the queen to except also the domains set apart for the dowry of the queen; but others, with more foresight, are of opinion that it will be better not to mention the matter just now, lest Hyde's faction should take the opportunity of making some overture prejudicial to her interests: and the same do not doubt that after the king's return, unless he is opposed to it, she will have no difficulty in regaining possession of all her rights. The general also professes his willingness to act in her service; and consequently no one doubts but that perfect liberty will be left her to return into England, and the jealousy which some entertain of the influence of Chancellor Hyde leads them to wish that she may come to England as quickly as possible. The Parliament has, by an express deliberation, decreed that the king shall be invited to come over without delay, and Admiral Montague has been ordered to proceed with all his fleet to the coast of Holland in order to receive the royal commands. The deputies of the parliament are also to set out to-morrow with a large retinue of noblemen, in addition to those who have already gone over to Flanders; they were to be charged only with the answers of the two Houses; but instructions will be given them in reference to all that is desired of the king, and they will accompany him on his journey, which cannot be postponed longer than twelve or fifteen days, as he has been advised by his most zealous servants to hasten it in order to

prevent the factions which might be formed, during his absence, against his authority, which some are greatly desirous of limiting; among others, they propose to present him with the great officers of the kingdom. A committee was established a few days ago, to regulate the ceremonies and manner of his reception; another is labouring to provide funds for the support of his household, and to obtain the income which is to be given him; and the general's wife is attending to the furniture. The parliament has to-day returned thanksgivings to God for the change which has taken place, and the ministers of religion have been ordered to pray in future for the King and the Dukes of York and Gloucester; but the queen is not included, which is contrary to the custom of past times. The reports which prevailed about an insurrection in Scotland have proved untrue, and all the advices which are received from the provinces announce entire submission. The garrison of Dunkirk has not failed to follow this example, and Mr. Lockhart has gone to the king by order of the Council of State. It is doubted whether he will be continued in the government of Dunkirk, and whether liberty will be left to the king to restore that place to Spain; but such affairs are not mentioned yet, but everything is deferred until his return. I have now only to sign myself, &c.

(64.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, June 3, 1660.

THE letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 29th of last month has just been delivered to me, and I have also received a despatch from M. de Brienne; but the course which the affairs of England have taken will not permit me to perform the services which they direct. You will already have remarked, from my previous letters, that the intrigues of the friends of Chancellor Hyde have met with more success than my efforts to induce the king of England to go into France, and that the excitement, both of the parliament and the people, has frustrated all the measures which were being taken for transferring thither the negociation of the treaty projected by the leading members of the Council of State, in the expectation that the general would remain true to the sentiments which he professed to them that he entertained. If the advantages which have been proposed to him have disposed him to abandon his friends, the lukewarm-

ness of the queen's partisans has been no less favourable to the Chancellor's designs: they throw the blame upon the court of the Palais Royal, and, in fact, Lord Jermyn did not go into Flanders until after the arrival of a gentleman who was despatched from hence to the queen, in order to learn her intentions with regard to the overtures which I had made, and which they did not think would be agreeable to her, as she had not written to them on the subject. Whilst this explanation was awaited, the general pledged himself to support the retirement of the king to Breda, in preference to any other place, unless he had any objection; if the queen had sent a messenger to him before, or if they had acted with a little more spirit, this blow would have been prevented. There now remains nothing to do but to thwart the designs which the Chancellor may form to the prejudice of France; his ill-will is said to be undiminished; but different reports are current with regard to his influence, and many flatter themselves that it will not be difficult to destroy it. This cannot, however, be done by the general; he is not reputed to be either a counsellor or a courtier; and his relations, to whose advice he yields great deference, are gained over, among others his wife's brother, who claims the honour of having disposed him to restore the king. It was through him that I kept up a correspondence with the general; and since the Chancellor's agents have won him over to their interests, he has discontinued to see me. The old Presbyterians are more disposed to oppose the prime minister, and if the number of young men with whom both Houses of parliament have been filled had not made them lose courage, they would now have stipulated for his removal. As one party apprehends that their efforts will be useless, and the others are buoyed up with hopes, it is impossible to count on their inclinations. I have not neglected to enter into connection with some leading men, who are most anxious for the return of the Queen of England, that she may support them and combat the power of the Chancellor before it is more strongly established. Although there appears to be no obstacle to her return, one cannot answer for the sentiments which the King will entertain when he is here, and perhaps difficulties will be raised on the part of the parliament, in order to give him a pretext for postponing her return. Already, even, it is said to be inopportune, before affairs are settled, that it will produce factions in

the court, and that religion will be prejudiced thereby. Nevertheless, these considerations will have no weight unless they are insinuated underhand by those who are known to speak the mind of this court; thus upon this depends the judgment which we must form of this minister's credit: he will have no right to be offended if he is not capable of keeping the queen in France, I have not failed to act in her service with all the zeal which you prescribe; and she, as well as the king of England, will undoubtedly have been informed of the performance of the orders which have been sent me, as some of the most distinguished members of her party with whom I have been on intimate terms since my arrival in this country have undertaken to bear this testimony on my behalf. They are even persuaded that, as early as the time of Sir George Booth's insurrection, France was ready to declare against the republic, as we then used language which appeared to them to be very positive propositions. The last demonstrations which his Majesty has given of his good-will will finally convince the King of England that my conduct has been sincere; and I entertain no doubts about presenting myself to him in a manner of which he will approve, if his arrival precedes the orders which I am expecting by my courier. I shall also continue to humour the general, to whom I spoke of the interests of the queen at my last visit, inviting him to earn the glory of her restoration as well as of that of the king, to meet whom he started yesterday, with no other troops than his company of cavalry, in which a number of noblemen have enrolled themselves. It has not been judged advisable to repose so much confidence in the old regiments, although the officers are well-intentioned; and so some other companies of gentlemen have been formed, among others one under the name of the general's lady, of which an English earl has not disdained to become the lieutenant. The citizens of London have formed others, and after having displayed themselves in the streets, they all set out yesterday on their march, in consequence of the information given by the deputies of the parliament that the king intended to embark on the day before yesterday, that he would land at Dover, and would immediately proceed to Canterbury, where he would make some stay. The two Houses of Parliament will await his orders here, and, as they are making no preparations to go and meet him, I have also thought it right to remain in London. The House of Commons has, during the last few

days, been engaged in hot debate upon a proposition made by one of the members to remove all Catholics from the court, according to the ancient laws. The pretext of this banishment is derived from some insurrection which has taken place in Ireland, and of which the Catholics are thought to be the principal authors. The question has not yet been decided, as part of the assembly did not think it advisable to enforce such rigorous measures at the present crisis. This proposition has not prevented all the Catholic peers from taking their seats in the Upper House, and up to this hour the others have not taken offence at their conduct: but if the proposed act is passed, they will probably be attacked. The two Houses have had some discussion in reference to their prerogatives; because the Commons having requested the concurrence of the Lords in the confiscation of the property of the king's judges, the latter readily gave their assent, but in their act treated the Commons as complainants and not as judges, and declare that they can act in no other capacity. The levying of money has also occupied this assembly, of which the general took leave before his departure. There is news from Ireland that the Irish Convention has sent a deputation to the king, and made him a present of 20,000*l.* sterling and 4000*l.* to the Dukes of York and Gloucester. Several of the officers of the Court of Justice which condemned the king, and one of his judges, have had the boldness to present themselves before the House of Lords, who sent them to the Tower. I cannot, my lord, behold without gratitude the approbation with which your Eminence honours my conduct, and the assurances of friendship which you renew to me; but when I consider, on the other hand, the state of my affairs and the advantages which most others derive from their services in various offices, I cannot but accuse my fate, and imagine that fortune is less favourable in England than in any other place. This reflection augments the desire which I feel to return into France, and I supplicate your Eminence for permission to do so, after I have executed the orders which will probably be forwarded to me by my courier. I hope that this favour will not exhaust your bounty towards him who has the honour to be, &c.

(65.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, June 7, 1660.

I ACKNOWLEDGED by last post the receipt of the letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on

the 25th of last month, by the courier whom I had despatched; but having postponed my answer until to-day, I must, before I speak of what has occurred in England during the last few days, assure you that I will not fail to execute punctually your Eminence's commands, as well as the orders sent me by M. de Brienne. Now that the King of England has returned to his own country, they are reduced to my employing myself in the queen's service, and against Chancellor Hyde, and to forming opinions in the parliament by which his Majesty may be able to profit. As it has not only just now appeared to me that these were the only services which could be expected from me, this has been my principal occupation ever since the king's return has been certain, and I have treated of it with different persons, among others with the most influential Presbyterians, who have pretty openly declared themselves on the queen's side, and against the Chancellor, whose credit gives them offence; but they have almost entirely lost courage since the general acceded to the resolutions adopted by the parliament to recall the king without conditions; and their only resource at present is in his conduct with regard to the queen, it being certain that, unless she can induce him to recall her into England, the Chancellor and the Marquis of Ormonde will easily raise up obstacles to her return under the pretext of religion. And the overtures which have been made of late against the Catholics do not seem to have any other object than her exclusion, at least this is the opinion of many persons, and that these two ministers are closely united against her return, foreseeing that their credit would be injured by her presence; but as to the pecuniary interests which she may have, full satisfaction will doubtless be given her. Lord Jermyn, the Earl of St. Albans, who arrived here yesterday evening, will have found out what is to be expected from the king, and the review which he has already made of his friends will have given him plenty of information upon which to take measures; and if my assistance can contribute to the advancement of his designs, I will not fail to act with all the zeal which you prescribe. As far as the parliament is concerned, it is impossible to say of what use its inclinations will be. The king has returned into possession of such complete affection of his subjects that nothing can now be contested with him, and the forces which have been placed in his hands by the general's entire resignation place him in a very different position from that of his an-

cestors. The most clearsighted are of opinion that henceforward the prerogatives of the people will depend upon the will of their sovereign; and although he is but slightly armed, nothing will be difficult to him if he follows the example of the Protector, who governed England with an army of seven or eight thousand men, although all the nobility and most of the people detested his authority. It has already been proposed to dissolve the present parliament because it was not convoked in due form; and appearances clearly indicate, that if the ministers do not find it well-intentioned, they will not leave it long in existence. The House of Lords appears the strongest; but those of whom it is composed are not capable of great enterprise, and the veterans who have fought during the late wars have lost nearly all their haughtiness. The Earl of Manchester belongs to this number; but he thinks he has deserved much of late, and the hope of obtaining some high office will render him very circumspect. I had formed an intimacy with him some years since, and had even first addressed myself to him in order to induce parties here to invite the king of England to pass into France, and he professed that he would labour to that end; nevertheless, I have not seen that he has done anything in the matter, and since his brother's letter has been given to him, he has certainly been to see me, but in company with others; and in answer to my questions, he deferred conversation on the matter to some other time. The Countess of Carlisle is more disposed to enter into intrigues, and has appeared so for a long while; but her credit is greatly diminished, as is also that of her brother, the Earl of Northumberland. It is to be feared that the rest of the Presbyterian party, who are well-disposed towards France, will have the same fate. As for the general, I have kept on good terms with him, having anticipated the orders which were sent me to congratulate him upon the happy success of his enterprise; but no one believes that his opinion has much influence in deciding the questions discussed in the Council of England, especially in reference to foreign affairs; moreover his confidants are entirely devoted to the interests of the Chancellor. One of them, Mr. Morrice, has been made a minister and Secretary of State; the others have received other rewards in the same way. Different opinions, nevertheless, prevail with regard to the Chancellor's influence, and the King of England does not wish it to be considered so great as many represent it;

some think that the Earl of St. Albans will have a great deal to do with affairs of state. These opinions need confirmation, and this cannot be given until after the king's arrival in London. He disembarked at Dover on the 4th of this month; the general received him on the beach kneeling, and surrounded by all his army. The king bestowed upon him all imaginable caresses, called him his father, and after a short conversation in private, and when he had received the homage of the nobility under a dais which had been erected, having at his sides the Dukes of York and Gloucester, who received similar respects at the same time and remained covered, the king entered his carriage, into which the two princes and the general at first took their seats; the Duke of Buckingham also got in without being invited, and although he had met with a very cool reception. The king took the road to Canterbury, along which having met all the companies of gentlemen in battle-array, he mounted on horseback, and so entered into that city, where he has remained up to this time; during his stay there he has given the order of the Garter to the general and to the Earl of Southampton, with this difference, that the Dukes of York and Gloucester fastened the sash and garter on the first, and the herald-at-arms performed the same office to the other. A paper was also read containing the reasons for the general's promotion, which were derived from his connection with the royal family, although only by way of bastardy, and from the services he has rendered in liberating the three nations from slavery. Mr. Morrice and Sir Ashley Cooper, who both belonged to the old parliament, have been also favoured for the latter reason, and the Garter has been sent to General Montague, who commands the fleet under the Duke of York, who has been appointed Lord High Admiral. All this company will leave Canterbury to-day on its way to London, into which city the king will enter to-morrow at the head of the nobility. The brevity of the time allowed for preparation not permitting great magnificence, the two Houses of Parliament will await him at Whitehall. Nothing of importance has occurred in these two bodies of late. The Lords have granted the Commons the liberty to put on their hats, which they formerly disputed, and the latter have resolved upon a law against the Irish Catholics, together with a renewal of the laws which banish from the court all who are of the same religion. The king, when embarking, forbade the Catholics of his suite to

accompany him, from which we may infer that uniformity of opinion exists upon this point. I am preparing to present the letters of credence which have been sent me. The ambassador from the States General who was here has been recalled in conformity with the desire which the king expressed when at the Hague, and the Portuguese envoy greatly apprehends that he will not be admitted to an audience after what has happened to his colleague resident in Holland. * * *

(66.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, June 10, 1660.

I HAVE nothing to communicate to-day, except the entrance of the king into London, as I have had no opportunity, since his arrival, of presenting to him his Majesty's letter, and no remarkable solemnity, or great magnificence was displayed upon this occasion, but only great declamations and expressions of joy. In the morning the king left Rochester, which is distant about ten leagues from this city, and mounted his horse when about two leagues off, where he was met by all the companies of the nobility, and by five regiments of the army; he marched forwards in the midst of these corps, and was soon met by the Mayor of London, accompanied by the Sheriffs and a number of citizens on horseback, at the utmost confines of his jurisdiction. The Mayor presented his sword to the king, who returned it into his hands, upon which he remounted his horse, and carried his sword before him, still remaining bareheaded, and having General Monk on his right hand, and the Duke of Buckingham on his left. The King rode immediately behind him, having the Dukes of York and Gloucester on either side, but a little behind him; in this order he passed through the whole length of the city, through two ranks of pikemen of the city militia, and of the guilds of merchants who stood with their robes and banners in a hedge behind the barriers which had been fixed up in all the streets, in some of which the water-conduits were filled with wine. The king found the members of both Houses of Parliament at Whitehall, according to the orders which had been given them on the preceding evening, and harangues were made in their name, for the Upper House by the Earl of Manchester, and for the Commons by their Speaker. The day was ended with the erection of bonfires in front of all the houses, and the beem-

ing of the guns at the Tower of London. All day yesterday was employed in receiving all those who presented themselves, and to-day the Dukes of York and Gloucester, have taken their seats in parliament for the first time, in virtue of the patents granted them during the reign of the deceased king, as the princes of the blood enjoy this prerogative only by commission. They advocated the desire which the king expressed through the medium of one of the Lords, that some of those who were created peers by the deceased king should be admitted: and although the House of Commons had projected an act to annul all these titles, and the House of Lords was willing to ratify such a resolution, not one of them ventured to oppose the proposition, and this acquiescence opens the door to all those titles which have been created since the commencement of the war, which will render the Upper House more august in numbers than it formerly was. This afternoon, the Council of State began its sessions, and Mr. Hollis and the President of the preceding Council, were admitted. The Earl of Manchester and Lord Robarts, considered to be two of the ablest men in the nation, are also to be added, although the latter was a most zealous opponent of the king, and his appointment is a cause of chagrin to some of the old royalists. It has been judged advisable by this junto, to publish three acts of parliament, the principal of which has reference to the confirmation of sales; the act which renews the ancient penal laws against the Catholics has been presented on the part of the Commons to the House of Lords; that enacting the imposition of taxes to the amount of three millions, payable in three months, has passed, as has also the prorogation of the sessions of the Courts of Justice; and these are the principal deliberations which have occurred of late. The affairs of the queen are soon to be brought under discussion. I informed the Secretary of State, this morning, that his Majesty had sent me letters of credence, and the Earl of St. Albans, who came to see me this evening, assures me that the king was, this afternoon, well-disposed to receive me, notwithstanding the impression which my enemies tried to convey to him that, instead of acting on his behalf I had pressed the General, of late, to constitute himself Protector. This is a report which was prevalent some time since, but which has no other foundation than the civilities and offers of friendship which your Eminence ordered me to n

to him a few days after his arrival in London. The authors of the rumours are those men who are desirous to irritate the public mind against France, and reflectively against the queen. I postpone until the next post further remarks upon this subject, and upon the influence possessed by the Chancellor, as I have no time to write more to-day; and after having informed you of the excuses sent me by Mr. Lockhart for not having visited me, and which he has based upon the fact that his disgrace is partly owing to the great friendship which he had displayed towards France, I will subscribe myself, &c.

(67.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, June 14, 1660.

I WILL now satisfy the expectations which my previous letter will have led your Eminence to form with regard to Chancellor Hyde, by informing you that it is reported to me in different quarters, that the King of England determines upon no affair of importance without his concurrence, that he has bestowed no high office on any one who is not on good terms with this minister, that he attributes his restoration to him, and that he is quite disposed to devolve the burden of government on to his shoulders; but that nevertheless, he is offended if he is termed the prime minister, and believed to have so much influence. The Earl of St. Albans gave me to understand, that the King's favour is divided between the Chancellor and the Marquis of Ormonde, but that he thinks that the former will prevail in the end; the one may be more active and devoted to business, and the other very much beloved by the king; both are equally discontented with France and attached to Spain, and the fear which they entertain with regard to the return of the queen induces them to seek opportunities for irritating the mind of their master against France. If they had succeeded in this as well as in inspiring the people with an aversion towards us, a war might be expected; since the return of the court nothing else is talked about, and many are of opinion, that, as it is necessary to give some occupation abroad to the English troops, this could not be done less prejudicially than by employing them against France. But I do not learn that the king coincides with these views, and the reports which have reached me up to this moment, represent him to be better acquainted with his true interests than to entertain such an idea. Public rumour

also asserts that he will not receive me, and I cannot but suspect that this report has some foundation, as I have received no news from the Secretary of State, although when I informed him that I had letters of credence, he promised to inform the king thereof immediately, and to give me an answer without delay. I sent to him this evening to inquire the reason of his silence, and he deferred all explanations until to-morrow. As regards the position of the Earl of St. Albans, by his own avowal, when he came into England, he did not think himself very much advanced in the king's good graces, and many had confirmed me in this opinion; but he has met with greater attention during the last few days, and he assures me that he found the king inclined quite otherwise than he is represented to be, both with regard to France, and to myself individually: consequently he has no cause for complaint, after that the General's brother-in-law has declared that I had charged him with no proposition which could tend to destroy the good-will of the General, whose influence it is not thought will be of long duration; for the Presbyterians whom he has deceived (by recalling the king unconditionally, contrary to his promise), will, if possible, urge him to extremities, and the Chancellor is temporizing with him. Some of the leading Presbyterians have been summoned to the Council; most of the others are the best qualified of the peers who discharged the same duties under the deceased king, or under the present monarch: the Duke of Buckingham is the only one rejected, and it is reported that the king himself made him leave his room, telling him that he would send for him when his services should become necessary. His past conduct is the cause of this disgrace, and of late he has not behaved himself in a manner calculated to efface the remembrance of it. Most of the principal offices have also been filled up; the Marquis of Ormonde is Grand-Master, and aspires to be Viceroy of Ireland; the General also aspires to the same post, although he has been appointed Master of the Horse; the Earl of Manchester is Lord High Chamberlain; the Chancellor has assumed his seat both in the Court of Chancery, and in the House of Lords, of which he is the Speaker; the office of Postmaster-General, with a salary of 1,000*l.* per annum, has been given to the Duke of Gloucester. It is proposed to place upon a permanent footing a regiment of 1,200 c[illegible]y; and although it is said that the General is opposed [illegible]

plan, the king will doubtless decide the matter according to his own pleasure. He went to the Parliament, on the 11th instant, by water and without ceremony, to give his approbation to the acts which authorize the session of that body, the continuance of the sessions of the Courts of Justice, and the tax of three millions of pounds sterling, which the Council of State had examined on the previous evening. This was done after the King had made a rather short speech to the two Houses, in which he expressed his gratitude for the affection which they had lately manifested towards him, and assured them that he would carry into complete execution the declaration which he had sent to them from Breda: the Chancellor spoke after him, and—after having exaggerated the importance of the miraculous revolution which has just happened, praised the General and represented the King to be strongly desirous to observe the declaration of Breda—he pressed the Parliament to conclude the act of amnesty by naming those who are to be excepted from it, in order that the others may be not only exempted from danger, but also from fear. He also recommended the act which has reference to religion, and gave them to understand that regard must be had to tender consciences; and advised the satisfaction of the army by the payment of the arrears which are due to it. On the very next day measures were taken in reference to the first of these acts, and it was resolved that those of the king's judges who shall not surrender themselves within fifteen days, shall be declared traitors; two of them have been taken, and one of these is the brother-in-law of the deceased Protector, and was the main cause of the downfal of his son. Search has been made during the last few days for other criminals, namely, the men who betrayed the king, some of whom were found out by Mr. Thurloe's clerk when he was at Breda; and he himself, as I am told, has revealed the others; among others have been found one of the leaders of the party commanded by Sir George Booth, and another, a Colonel greatly esteemed by the King, who has been lodged in the Tower. Two gentlemen of the Duke of Buckingham's retinue belonged to this same cabal, and have taken flight. There was also arrested, this morning, at Whitehall, in consequence of information which has arrived from the country, a man who is suspected of entertaining designs upon the person of the King, the first act of whose reign, which has appeared in public un-

der his name, is a proclamation against drunkenness, a vice to which his partisans are accused of being rather addicted. Two other proclamations have been published since, in conformity with the resolutions of the parliament, which prohibit the dispossession, without a justice's order, of the holders of confiscated lands, both in England and Ireland; these are orders chiefly agreeable to the people and the army. The act renewing the laws against the Catholics has not yet passed the House of Lords; and it was even resolved, at the time when the Common Prayers were ordered to be read in the House, that no one should be compelled to attend; for that would have excluded the Catholics. This same body has today taken the oath of fidelity to the King. Some members of the Council of citizens on Saturday, took advantage of the absence of several of their colleagues to resolve on a requisition to Parliament for the maintenance of the Covenant; but this morning, the Council being full, this resolution was revoked; and the generality of the nation have no other thought but how they may please the King. It only remains for me to subscribe myself, &c.

(68.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, June 17, 1660.

THE promise which the Secretary of State made to me, on the 14th of this month, that he would give me a speedy answer, has been duly performed. He sent a man yesterday to me, who told me on his behalf that, although the King is desirous to maintain a good understanding with all his neighbours, and particularly with France, and is disposed to receive those envoys whom his Majesty may send to him, he nevertheless could not admit me to an audience to present my letters of credence, because, in the course of my negociations, I have acted in opposition to his interests, and that the King therefore desired that I should quit England. I professed to be surprised at such a message, and that I expected to have found more coincidence with the friendship of his Majesty, whose assurances of good-will I was instructed to renew; that as for my conduct, it had been in conformity with my orders, and that if it were rightly understood, the King of England would have more cause to praise me for it than to complain of it. The messenger, taking no notice of this answer, asked me what reply he should give with regard to my departure fr

England. I told him that I would inform his Majesty of this desire without delay, as I could not withdraw without his permission. He reiterated that as the resolution which he had communicated to me had not been taken without mature deliberation, it would not be changed. I informed him that I should doubtless be directed to conform to it, as it was not his Majesty's custom either to send or to maintain ministers in any State where they were regarded with an evil eye, but that I hoped that until the arrival of such orders, the King of England would behave towards me in the way in which he would wish his ambassadors to be treated in France. I thought it advisable to use these general terms, as they leave the door open to a change of opinion, if that of the King of England were founded only upon some particular dislike, as I was informed it was, and I thought I could not better disabuse his mind than by the mediation of the Earl of St. Albans, whom I had visited on the evening before I received this message, in the hope of discovering whether such an answer were meditated, as I had heard; but he would not enter into any explanations; he only desired that as soon as the Secretary of State had sent it to me, I should communicate it to him. This I did, and this morning he came to see me, and told me that he was not at the Council when it was resolved to refuse me an audience, but that, having inquired the reasons for this step, he had learned that the zeal which I had displayed under the deceased Protector, and the ambiguous language which I had used of late towards General Monk, (which might have inspired him with the idea of following Cromwell's example,) having persuaded the Council of my aversion to the restoration of the King of England, it had been considered prudent not to admit me. I stated in reply that I have executed the orders of his Majesty under all the governments of England with all the zeal which can be expected from a good servant; that nevertheless, my actions have never been intended to injure the interests of the King of England, but only to establish perfect harmony between the two nations according to the orders given me, and that I did not think that any one could find fault with me in this respect; that even if they would thoroughly examine into what had taken place in the different conjunctures of affairs, it would be observed that France had always guarded the interests of the King of England so far as to avoid, in treaties, the slightest expressions which could de-

rogate from the rights which he possessed by birth: and as regarded my compliments to the General, they were not subject to any interpretation, especially after I had on the same day so distinctly expressed myself to his brother-in-law, who acknowledges the truth of my statement; that all my advances and offers tended to favour the restoration of the royal family by the intervention of France, and to contribute at the same time to the private advancement of the General; that for the rest, if the information which had been given to the King of England prevailed over these truths which I could easily corroborate by my orders and my despatches to the court, and if the ill-feeling which seemed to be excited against me would not allow the King of England to see me, his refusal ought at least to be signified in a less disobliging manner than that which had been employed; that it was merely necessary to defer the audience, and meanwhile to beg his Majesty to send some more agreeable person, and even to take a public resolution not to treat with those foreign ministers who were employed under the preceding governments, in order that the ill-treatment which I had experienced might not be attributed to any particular hostility to France, as public reports declared, or to the animosity of some of the members of the English Council, who, in this case, seemed to follow the dictates of their passions rather than those of propriety, and to desire to alienate rather than maintain friendship between the two monarchs; that as for myself, I should not act in this spirit, and that, very far from involving the nations in a quarrel, I should only strive to prevent it, and to induce his Majesty to consent to my withdrawal, as my residence in England could no longer conduce to his interest; that I only wished, (in order that it might not be brought as a reproach against me that, for want of explanation, I had allowed credit to be attached to such ill-founded reports,) that the King of England had sent to me the Secretary of State, or some other member of his Council to confer with me, it being sufficiently common among friendly princes to use this circumspection, and that doubtless he would have been satisfied with the interview; that I could also have wished that the character with which I am invested had been more respected, and that the message which had been sent me had been brought by some well-known person; that as I could not receive such a message from an unknown individual, I intended to request the

Secretary to communicate it to me in writing. I even communicated to the Earl the letter which I was prepared to send with a copy of his Majesty's, which, by justifying my conduct, removes all pretext for the resolution adopted here. Meanwhile, the Earl professed his disapprobation of their whole proceedings with regard to me; he also entered into the overtures which I made to prevent any animosity being excited, and desired that I should postpone the dispatch both of my letter to the Secretary and of the present, until he had spoken to the King, undertaking to represent to him that as the information which has been given him may be incorrect, he should not take further proceedings until he had first entered into some explanations, and had sent to me the Secretary of State with this view; or, if he finds that the King cannot be induced to change his resolution, to suggest to him to take a general determination not to treat with the other ministers who were employed before his return. I did not request either one thing or the other, and so I did not think it right to refuse him a few hours' delay to give time for repentance, or at least for taking some course which may give his Majesty less cause for irritation: but as I am uncertain as to what he will do, and as he informed me that an express is to be dispatched from hence to France to-day, to inform you of the reasons of the refusal which has been given, I should fear that your Eminence would be uneasy, unless I informed you immediately of what had taken place. I will also add, that I have been assured, upon good authority, that the Chancellor and the Marquis of Ormonde, feeling hurt at the mortifications which they received in France, particularly during their master's last residence there, and at the attempts which have latterly been made on our part in order to remove them, and inspired still more with fear of the return of the Queen of England, have induced the king to act in this manner towards me, in order to sow the seeds of division between the two courts, and by taking their revenge thus easily, to free themselves from the danger they would incur from the presence of the queen. The Earl of St. Albans had given me this information at his first visit, and nevertheless persuaded himself that he had warded off the blow, as the King had charged him to tell me that I should be well received; but although I requested an audience on that same day, it was not granted me, and the resolution which has been sent me

gives reason to believe that it was hoped that I should press for an interview, in order that it might be refused; whence I infer that the Earl of St. Albans is not in the secret confidence of the King, and that the Chancellor's influence augments daily. It has not appeared to me consistent with my dignity to pay him a visit, as I know he is so ill-intentioned towards France. I had, nevertheless, expressed myself clearly enough to several who are strongly attached to his interests, to give him reason to expect every civility from me; an intimate friend of the Marquis of Ormonde has also informed him that I should behave in the same manner towards him; but these advances were not sufficient to dissipate their ill-will, or to change their policy. As for the General, his credit appears rather in the distribution of gratuities and benefactions than in the Cabinet, where he has quite ceased to carry on any intrigues; and I have not, therefore, thought it worth while to call upon him in this emergency. I only intend to convey to him some reproach for the interpretation which he placed upon my civilities, and for the effect, at least, of the pretext which it furnished; but I do not expect that any of the steps which I can with propriety take will be of any influence, and after the sensation which will be produced by the answer which has been given me, this court will consider itself no longer in a position to swerve from it; wherefore I suppose that it will be judged expedient to send me permission to withdraw as quickly as possible. If your Eminence should consider it consistent with the dignity of France to manifest some discontent at these proceedings, and should wish at the same time to punish their authors, it would only be necessary, instead of sending extraordinary ambassadors forthwith, to induce the Queen of England to come hither under the pretext of mediating a reconciliation. I have seen many persons who are of opinion that she ought to be conveyed hither by France, lest England should display no wish to recall her, and lest the ministry should meanwhile strengthen themselves to her prejudice, as affairs could not be administered by persons more badly-intentioned than those who have been called into the Council by the Chancellor; the others are noblemen whose votes have not very much weight, or who like the Earl of Manchester, are striving to gain a position. Some of the latter would become bolder if they had the Queen to support them, and there is no more certain means, than her presence, for

sowing division in this court. Measures may be taken upon the information which has been given me, and it must be admitted that I have pursued a course of conduct which leaves his Majesty room either to express his resentment or to accept the reasons which may be urged to justify their proceedings here; and I am persuaded that it will always be time to assume a tone of complaint and haughtiness, if it is judged more honorable than that of concession to the desire felt for my withdrawal, and that your Eminence will follow rather the dictates of moderation than those of anger. If I have mistaken your choice, it will be easy for me to retrace my steps, as I feel very much disposed to assert the dignity of France. I shall await orders on this point with considerable impatience, as I cannot henceforward remain in England with satisfaction, either in my public or private capacity, and I hope that your Eminence will speedily deliver me from this unpleasant position. You will be pleased to consider that as I cannot leave the country without paying my debts, which amount to twenty thousand pounds, and as I have no credit either at Paris or in London, I should be greatly embarrassed unless the court would supply me with means to liquidate them; the appointments which are due to me amount to a larger sum, and they could not be paid more opportunely. I entreat your Eminence to be good enough to take this into consideration, and I hope that the same person who brings me orders will also supply me with the means of executing them. If I can execute any commission in your service, I shall consider myself very fortunate to end my residence in England in this way. I have no more news of any importance to write to you just now. The Upper House has been engaged during the last few days in a debate upon the question whether in the absence of the Chancellor, it could appoint a Speaker or receive one from the King, and the discussion has not yet terminated. The Commons have named the seven judges of the King who are to be excepted from the amnesty. Major-General Harrison, and Colonel Jones, the brother-in-law of the deceased Protector, are the only ones arrested. One of the others, named Scott, having taken refuge in Flanders, was captured by the English there; but notwithstanding that the Marquis of Caracena was requested to give him up, his escape was connived at, and with some justice, as this unfortunate man, who was Secretary of State under the Republic, was a pensioner and a valuable

servant of Spain. The English court continues to complain of the favour which has been shown him. Yesterday the Earl of Manchester proposed, in the House of Lords, the payment of the Queen's dowry, which was granted without opposition, and this morning the House of Commons acquiesced in it, and appointed Commissioners to confer with the Lords upon the subject. Nothing has as yet been said of her return, or of any foreign affairs; and it only remains for me, &c.

POSTSCRIPT, JUNE 18, 1660.—I delayed the departure of the present courier because the Earl of St. Albans sent yesterday evening to tell me that he would come and see me this morning. He has not failed to do so, and informed me that the King had told him that he was too fully persuaded that I had acted in opposition to his interests to be willing to enter into any explanation, and immediately spoke to me of the secret article which had caused his departure from France, in terms which justify the belief that this act was employed to irritate him. I informed the Earl that, after I had done my duty by giving the King better information, I had nothing more to do but receive my dismissal, and that I should greatly regret to see that resentment for a civility which necessity had extorted had prevailed over the remembrance of all the benefits which he had received from his Majesty's friendship. The Earl also told me that they intended to adopt the plan of not admitting any other foreign minister who had treated with the preceding governments; and I answered that his Majesty would not take into consideration anything which concerned them, as the treatment which they experienced could not serve as a rule for that which he had a right to expect for his ministers. This is the present position of this matter. I feel persuaded that your Eminence will judge it necessary to withdraw me from hence without delay. * * *

(62.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, June 24, 1660.

No change has taken place in the resolutions adopted here with regard to me: I have not, therefore, judged it expedient to make fresh attempts to disabuse the King of England, after the answers brought to me on his behalf by the Earl of St. Albans. My principal care of late has been to discover the origin of these untoward dispositions; and I have been assured

by different persons, among others by a nobleman who requested that his name should not appear in my letters, that the discontent of the Chancellor and of the Marquis of Ormonde are the real causes; that they thought they would execute a tremendous vengeance by refusing me an audience in so disobliging a manner, and that in order to dispose their master to this step, they made use of the confessions of Mr. Thurloe, who has revealed the secrets of foreign as well as of domestic negociations. The same person informed me that the King of England feels great irritation at the treatment which he received latterly in France, and is far from considering himself under any obligations to us; apprehension of the return of the Queen of England has also something to do with their conduct here, and I may say that public rumour makes the aversion to be greater than it possibly can be: that many even think they cannot pay court better than by speaking against France, and that some members of the Council have given me to understand that it would be a crime for them to hold any correspondence with me. Lord Berkley has not ceased to visit me with the permission of the Duke of York, and on the day before yesterday he told me that he had received orders to assure me that his master entertained a grateful recollection of the favours which he had received from his Majesty; he even paid me some compliments on his behalf, and the conversation which we had persuaded me that the remainder of the court are of very different opinions from the Duke of York, that the General had joined the Chancellor, and that this cabal was all-powerful. But their ill-will is not to be feared, as the King of England appears disposed not to follow blindly their dictates; and moreover, his precarious position renders the friendship of neighbouring princes extremely necessary. Although the Parliament is very submissive, and no one either in the Upper House or in the House of Commons dares to speak against propositions which are supposed to originate with him, there are, nevertheless, many malcontents already, and religion will probably soon increase their number, if the King is bent, as it is said, on re-establishing the bishops. Requisitions to this effect are being got up in several counties, and attempts are being made to overcome the repugnance of the troops to this establishment. Nothing has as yet been said about the matter in Parliament. The act of amnesty is still under consideration, and within the last

few days the House of Commons has named several of those who are to be excepted from it, as far as their property is concerned. Sir Harry Vane is the first on the list, and the most distinguished members of the preceding governments will have the same fortune. Attention has also been given to the affairs of Ireland, and according to the project of the Commons, the condition of the Catholics in that country will be worse than it was during the disgrace of the King of England. The House of Lords does not treat of matters of so much importance; it has during the last few days, resolved upon taking an oath of fidelity which is very repugnant to the Catholics, inasmuch as it obliges them to acknowledge the King as head and defender of the Church; but they hope that they will not be forced to take it, and many noblemen of the Presbyterian faction also are no less opposed to it. A resolution has been taken by this House to pay the Queen's dowry; but there is some difficulty about deciding whether the lands which had been allotted to her shall be withdrawn from the hands of those to whom the State has sold them, and the General declares that such a proceeding would offend the army. He has reduced the body of cavalry which was to be permanently established, from 1,200 to 200 men; and still they are not positively certain whether they will be maintained by the Parliament. The Scotch demand the evacuation of the English garrisons which are kept up in their country, that their Parliament shall be re-established, and that the ancient prerogatives of the Council of State which was appointed in 1650 shall be confirmed. This is indirectly demanding the maintenance of the Covenant, and there is very little disposition to please them by granting this point. It only remains for me to assure you, my lord, that I am, &c. * * *

(70.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, July 1, 1660.

I AM still in expectation of those orders from the King with which my courier must be charged, and his delay cannot but cause me uneasiness, as I find I am useless as regards the service of the public, and treated in a manner which plainly indicates that my departure from England is ardently desired. During the last few days I have obtained tolerably evident proofs of this in a domestic squabble: my steward took to flight when the time came for him to give an account of his

administration; he has not only excited all my creditors by giving them the alarm of my departure, and induced some to seize my horses, but even had the insolence to cause the arrest of one of my secretaries in virtue of a warrant signed by an ordinary justice. As the first action was brought by Englishmen and for debt, I did not think I could obtain much satisfaction for their proceeding, and endeavoured to pacify them; but it appeared to me that I should injure the prerogatives of my character, if for a dispute between two of my servants I addressed myself to an ordinary justice of the country, and so I had recourse to the King by means of the Earl of St. Albans, who had undertaken to have satisfaction given me even for the first injury; nevertheless, having mentioned the last to the King, he found him quite astonished at my pretensions to the character of an ambassador during the remainder of the time that I may be in England; his answer, even before he had heard the request, was uttered in a tone which completely stopped the Earl's mouth. I did not fail, before I was informed of it, to write to the Secretary of State a letter in which I demanded that my secretary and steward should be restored to me; and to strengthen this demand, I appended a copy of my letters of credence. I also saw the Earl of Manchester, whose office obliges him to protect the rights of the ambassadors, and informed him that the injury which had been done me did not regard me personally, but my character, and thus could not but offend his Majesty; he was convinced of the truth of what I said, and promised to speak to the King about it. Yesterday evening, he called on me to tell me that he had performed his promise, and the King had charged him to assure me that Monsieur de Bourdeaux should be treated with all civility, but that as ambassador of France I must expect nothing, and that my secretary should be restored to me, without making any mention of my steward. I declared to him that I had claimed nothing in my own right, and that although the King of England was kind enough to treat me with so much consideration, I would nevertheless not take advantage of his kindness on the present occasion, but only claim respect for the quality with which I was invested in England, and which could not be contested me: I insisted again that complete justice should be done me by the restoration of my two servants, who could not recognize any other jurisdiction but mine, and that of France after my return, if

they had any disputes with one another; and I thanked the Earl for his good offices. He promised to use all his efforts to obtain for me entire satisfaction, and I do not doubt that he will meet with some success, but not such as I could wish, since they persist in making a distinction between me and his Majesty's ambassador, and by this declaration manifest more animosity against France than against myself personally. This untoward disposition has been again confirmed to me by the same Earl of St. Albans, who came to relate to me the manner in which the king had received my complaint; he told me in very precise language, that this proceeding had no reference to me, that it had a deeper meaning, and that the Chancellor's faction were strongly desirous to excite animosity between our two States, hoping thereby to raise obstacles to the Queen's return; that even they might intend to obtain for her similar treatment in France to that which has been given me here. It has also been reported to me that two hours before he mentioned this incident to the King, he had had a long conversation with him with regard to me, taking occasion to do so from the information which General Monk's brother-in-law had just given him that he had been urged to declare that I had charged him, on the part of his Majesty and your Eminence, to induce the General to constitute himself Protector or to maintain the republic; this has been imputed to me now for some time, and I was publicly justified from the charge at the Hague by this same brother-in-law. He expressed his joy that the Earl of St. Albans had unmasked this knavery, and nevertheless his discontent did not break out a moment after; from which it may be inferred that my conduct has not caused it; this is the feeling both of this Earl and of Lord Berkley and other courtiers, who have borne testimony to the King, of their own free-will, that I had appeared very zealous in his service. It is to be hoped that their judgment is ill-founded, and that my withdrawal may stifle these seeds of misunderstanding before they take deeper root. If my debts permitted me to leave London, I should be greatly tempted to forestall the permission which will doubtless be sent me; for I am no longer in a position to negociate, as the ministers of the Council avoid meeting me. I do not learn that any foreign affairs have as yet been discussed in the Council; it has only been reported to me that the King will not ratify the treaty which has been made between the two Kings of the North, because he con-

siders it too disadvantageous to Denmark, whose interests are much more considerable than those of the Swedes. Its resident has even had an audience, although he acted under the preceding governments; and we must expect that the Dutch, notwithstanding the peace, will foment the present inclinations of this court, of which I have no important news to write. The Parliament has at length finished naming those who are to be excepted from the amnesty as far as their property is concerned. Besides Vane and Haslerig, Fleetwood, Lambert, and the Speaker of the preceding Parliament, a great friend of General Monk, have had the same fortune; and they have augmented the number of those sentenced to death by the minister Peters, whom they have not yet caught, and by a major whom they have brought from Ireland, who is accused of having cut off the head of the deceased king, and who confesses that he was on the scaffold in a mask. Some of the judges have surrendered themselves, and have been placed in confinement. The Commons have also been occupied with the regulation of the public revenue, and have granted the King during his whole lifetime, a considerable tax upon the markets, have continued the customs and excise-duties, suspended the payment of the public debts contracted since 1648, with the exception of the arrears of the army, and assigned 10,000*l.* sterling for the support of the Queen of England, out of the tax of 70,000*l.* sterling, which is to be levied on the people within three months. All the lands mortgaged for her dowry, which have not been sold will be restored to her, and some means of accommodation will be sought for the others. It was proposed in the House of Lords to take an oath of fidelity, with which the Catholics could not agree, because it contained expressions which entirely destroy the power which the Church of Rome claims to possess with regard to the deposition of kings and excommunicated States; but it is now no longer mentioned, and it is even not very agreeable to the rigid Presbyterians. This same oath has already been taken by several regiments, and it is to be presented to all the old troops, into the command of which persons of quality are being introduced. The King has been feasted every day by different noblemen, and the city is to give him a great dinner in a fortnight. The deputies from Ireland have brought him their submission and 20,000*l.* It only remains for me to sign myself, &c.

(71.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, July 4, 1660.

I DO myself the honour to write to your Eminence only n order to inform you of the arrival of my courier on the day efore yesterday, with orders from the King permitting me to eave England, and that I am making preparations to leave ondon to-morrow, so as to return to France as quickly as ossible. The Secretary of State has this evening given me a assport, but not a vessel, for my passage; which does not urprise me after the animosity which has been displayed of ate days. My secretary has not been restored to me, although t was promised that he should be; with this exception, I ave nothing to desire, as I am very happy that your Eminence pproves of my past conduct, and remains persuaded that ny actions as well as my words were in conformity with he orders which were sent me. I hope to be with you o speedily as not to make it necessary to enter into any engthened justification at present, and I shall defer until that ime an account of what has passed since the return of my ourier. Meanwhile, having nothing of importance to write vith regard to the affairs of England, I must thank your Eminence for the kindness you have shown in giving me the neans of leaving this country honourably, in order to render ou in France all those services of which you may consider me apable. My confidence that you will continue to honour me vith your commands enables me patiently to endure the petty nortifications to which I have latterly been subjected; and I annot but esteem myself happy so long as it shall please you o believe that I am with affection and respect, &c.

(72.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, July 6, 1660.

I HAVE been detained here until now by those who, de- irous to prevent a misunderstanding between the two king- loms, were straining every nerve to change the resolution vhich has been adopted with regard to me. Yesterday even, hey felt entire confidence that they would succeed, and the affair was strongly debated in the Council, the principal ninisters of which were in favour of satisfying France. Never- heless, this evening the King decided the question, and I shall tart to-morrow without further delay in order to return to France as quickly as possible. A courier will be despatched

hence at the same time to inform the Queen of what has passed. I have no time now to give you a more exact report, and no prejudice can arise to the public if I postpone the performance of this duty until my return. There is also nothing of importance for me to write regarding the other affairs of England; and I now have only to sign myself with respect, &c.

THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SON, 45, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

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